

face is human while the right and left are respectively those of a lion and a boar. The central head bears an elaborate diadem adorned with *makarikā* and pearl-fastoon (*mauktikajāla*) device. The other decorative ornaments consist of flowery earrings (*patra-kunḍala*), a necklace (*ekāvalī*) of big round pearls and a tastefully arranged "garland of forest flowers" (*vanamāla*). The figure was originally four-armed as is evident from the traces of the bifurcating lines on the arm-stumps but as the entire portion below the waist and elbow is lacking it can not be ascertained what attributes were held therein. Behind the head was a large circular halo (*prabhāmaṇḍala*), now partially preserved, on which are portrayed the nine planets (*navagraha*) beginning with Sun and ending with *Rāhu*, the fire deity *Agni*, recognised by his flabby body, the pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) and the halo of flames (*jvālā*), the twin celestial physicians *Aśvinīkumāra* and the four sons of Brahma : *Sanaka*, *Sanandana*, *Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra*. The extant portion of the image is in an excellent state of preservation and its supple *élan* and the lively expression of the face bespeak the hand of a master sculptor. It is made of the usual mottled sandstone of *Sikri* quarry and, on grounds of style, can be assigned to c. 5th cent. A.D.

In Vedic age Vishnu occupied a very minor position and was only considered as a manifestation of the solar energy. In pauranic age he gradually came into prominence forming, together with *Śiva* and *Brahmā* the Triad of the Hindu Mythology. In plastic art his representations are found from 2nd cent. B.C.<sup>2</sup> His conception as *Mahā* or *Viśvarūpa* Vishṇu i.e., Vishṇu encompassing in himself the whole universe, appears to have originated in the time of the Great Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II, *Vikramāditya*, who assuming as it were the incarnation of *nṛsiṃha* lacerated the entrails of the Śaka king and again as *Varāha* rescued from him his brother's wife

<sup>2</sup> Banerjea, J. N.: Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 102.



*Dhruvadevī*.<sup>3</sup> Several sculptures of Mahāvishṇu have so far been discovered in Mathura art and are preserved in the local Archaeological Museum<sup>4</sup> as well as elsewhere; but the one under review is by far the best as it surpasses all the previous ones in its beautiful modelling combined with restrained elegance. Besides, it is remarkable for its great iconographic value also, being hitherto the only known example of Mahāvishṇu in which for the first time the halo has been meant to represent the sky or *vyoma-maṇḍala* and such divine beings as Agni, *Navagrahas* etc., introduced therein. The Aligarh Mahāvishṇu image, therefore, constitutes a highly valuable addition to our collection, adding a new quality to the Brahmanical art and religion of the Gupta age for which the artists of Muthura had ever been held in high repute.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. the story of the drama *Devichandraguṇṭam*.

<sup>4</sup> Vogel, J. Ph.: Catalogue of Sculptures in the Mathura Museum. D. 28, p. 100. Also Mathura Museum Register No. 2419 and 2525.

<sup>5</sup> Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin No. 104, Vol. XVII, p. 60, Dec. 1919.



## GUPTA ART

BY

VASUDEVA S. AGARAWALA,

The glories of the Gupta age have been made permanent through the visible creations of its art. The period of three centuries, circa 350-650 A.D., witnessed an unprecedented artistic activity in India revealed through some of the most beautiful creations of art. Different forms of art, viz., sculpture, painting and terra-cotta, attained a maturity, a balance and a naturalness of expression that have for ever remained unexcelled. In the Golden Age of Indian history—as the Gupta period is rightly styled—men and women were deeply art-conscious; they evinced a passionate desire for beautiful forms and shared in a universal activity to create what was noble and elevating. Some of our most beautiful monuments representing the very acme of India's artistic achievement are a cultural heritage of the Gupta period. Amongst them the immortal Ajanta frescoes take precedence.

This all-embracing artistic activity covered almost the whole country. New provincial centres as Mathura, Sarnath, Pataliputra, became the seat of the new intellectual and spiritual movement, and the economic prosperity of the age gave a refreshing outlook on life and culture. The Divyāvadāna<sup>1</sup> pictures the continent of Jambūdvīpa as the land of populous and peaceful cities teeming with happy millions, of vast and numerous capitals separated by intervals of space hardly greater than a cock's flight<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1).

1 तेन खलु समयेनास्मिन् जम्बूद्वीपे नगरसहस्राणि ऋद्धानि स्फोटानि क्षेमाणि सुमिक्षाण्या-  
कार्णं बहु जनमनुष्याणि । अप्रीदानीं जम्बूद्वीपका अकरा अभूवन्नशुल्का अतरपण्याः कृषिसंपन्नाः  
सौम्या जनपदा बभूवुः कुक्कुटसंपातमात्राश्च ग्राम निगमराष्ट्र राजधान्यो बभूवुः ।

Divyāvadāna, p. 316.



Under ideal conditions of social and political life art and culture flourished as never before. The contemporary citizen lived and moved in an abiding consciousness of beauty. His soul deeply moved by the surrounding beauty of forms recreated the same effect of charm in the visible symbols of art. Richly ornamented temples and sculptures, images and terracottas, numerous as they are, impress us with the high quality of their workmanship. Many details of Gupta life are preserved in art and great and small objects of stone and clay besides their moving loveliness also appear as documents of social culture.

*Gyanta* Elegance and balance are the outstanding features of Gupta art. There is nothing great or small which the hands of the Gupta artist touched and did not adorn. The great frescoes conceived and executed on an epic scale, and the charming and lyrical pieces of smaller terracottas both were the results of a common art inspiration through which the spirit of renaissance made itself eloquent. In this revival the house and the monastery both played their part and vied, as it were, with each other in creating and enshrining lovely objects, both as articles of daily use and as images of deities for worship. The importance of art and drama, dance and music in the life-scheme of a people is always a fascinating subject worthy of study, but seldom is its value greater than for the Gupta period.

The Gupta monuments dot the country from Mirpur-Khas in Sind to Dah Parbatia on the banks of the Brahmaputra in Assam, and from Murti near Choa Saidan Shah in the Salt Range to the cave paintings of Sittannavasal in the south and Sigiriya in Ceylon. Both sculptures and structural monuments are widely distributed deriving their inspiration from the same fountainhead of the new art movement and characterised by the same elements of decoration, architectural principles and elegance of form.



I. *Iconography.*

We know from the Purāṇas the extent to which cosmogonic myths and legends had been developed reflecting the numerous patterns of Hindu religious thought. The Gupta artist was called upon to give visible expression to the Pauranic concepts through the medium of stone, clay or painting. This he accomplished with extraordinary success by means of some simple but profound formulas of iconography and sculpture, like Viṣṇu resting on the cosmic serpent, Ananta Śeṣha, or in architecture like the beautiful but highly symbolical doorway of the Gupta temples. [The period of the first three centuries of the Christian era was the epoch of formative ideas and of new experiments in the spheres of art and iconography. The discovery of the image of the Buddha opened up a new vista for the growth of a complex pantheon of numerous Bodhisattvas and attendant deities. With the path once cleared for the appearance of the central figure in Buddhism similar attempts were made by the adherents of other religions, especially the urge for carving the Brahmanical gods and goddesses was felt quite strongly. As a result we find quite a number of Hindu deities, as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, Kārttikeya, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Durgā, Saptamātrikā, etc., portrayed in the Kuṣāṇa period. Their forms, attributes, accessory details, vehicles, decoration, etc., gradually came to be fixed in the course of several centuries, so that by the time of the Guptas the artists and the sculptors found themselves in possession of well-defined conventions and iconographic canons. This heritage of well understood forms of art enabled the Gupta artists to handle the complicated legends and myths of the many incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śiva with an easy mastery. One is impressed with the genuine simplicity in which grand mythical conceptions of religious and metaphysical import are visualised by the

अनन्त  
शेष  
राम  
शिव

देवता



engraver. The sculptural representations of the epic stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Kṛishṇa cycle are represented with effective success in the Devagarh temple belonging to this epoch. In the Brahmanical iconography at Mathurā during the Kushāṇa period Kṛishṇa is conspicuous by his absence, except on a relief (M.M. 1344) bearing a scene which Daya Ram Sahni interpreted as showing Kṛishṇa's father Vasudeva crossing the Yamunā in spate in order to transport the new born babe to the safety of Gokul.<sup>2</sup> At Devagarh, on the other hand, we find the details of the Kṛishṇa legend completely developed, and a few of the many panels bear scenes of Kṛishṇa's birth showing the lady Devakī handing over the child to her husband; Vasudeva, moving out to Gokul with the child; Nanda and Yaśodā holding Balarāma and Kṛishṇa in their laps and enjoying the bliss of a quiet rural retreat in the midst of their cows (Fig. 2); Kṛishṇa kicking at the milk cart on which pots of milk have toppled over (Fig. 3); and finally Kṛishṇa seizing the demon Kāṁsa by the hair. On a very beautiful panel we find another homely scene showing Kṛishṇa, Rukmiṇī and Sudāmā. The emaciated Brāhmaṇa is leaning on his crooked staff and in front of him stands Kṛishṇa, an elegant figure with the effect of his dignity heightened by the very elaborate and gorgeous coiffure spreading round his head, and the lady Rukmiṇī steeped in astonishment at the measureless bounty of her husband in fulfilling the wishes of his friend.

The iconographic wealth of this period is further illustrated in the scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa which once adorned the plinth of this temple. The redemption of Ahalyā (Fig. 4); the pilgrimage of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā to the forest; their visit to the hermitage of sage Agastya where the matron Lopāmudrā welcomed Rāma's sweet wife and the mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā by

<sup>2</sup> A.S.R., 1925-26, pp. 183-84; JISOA, 1937, p. 124, Pl. XIV, Fig. 1.



HC  
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Lakshmana are some of the major episodes preserved in these panel reliefs. On a slab still *in situ* we find Vishnu in his incarnation of Trivikrama assuming a colossal form in the presence of King Bali who is thrown in consternation by this miraculous feat. This lithic evidence of the iconographic development by about the sixth century A.D. is in agreement with the literary tradition as recorded in the works of Kālidāsa and a little later in the works of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. The ten incarnations of Vishnu with his principal legendary exploits. (Raghuvamśa, XIII. 5); the cycle of the boyhood romance of Krishna in his cowherd form (*Gopaveshasya Vishnoh*, Meghdūta, I. 15), and the classical legends of Śiva, e.g., his victory over Kāmadeva, the god of love, exploits over Gajāsura and other demons and the honeymoon dalliances with Pārvatī, present a fully developed picture of the religious myths of these gods as known to the poets of the Gupta age. Many of these scenes occur in the sculpture of this period, e.g., the agitation of Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa is seen on a Mathura relief<sup>3</sup> showing the giant king with a single head exerting his full might to bring about the Himalayan upheaval. The wavy lines and the reticulated breaks in the ridges of Kailāsa express the strain which it suffered and show the truth of the lines in the Meghdūta: "Of Kailasa whose ridges suffered a shaking of their joints when it was tilted by the arms of the ten-headed king" (कैलासस्य दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासितप्रस्थसन्धेः Megh, I. 58). The Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva represents another happy feature of Gupta iconography. Although already conceived in the Kushāṇa period (*JISOA*, 1937, Pl. XIV, fig. 2), the blended image of half-male and half-female form of the deity was perfected with masterly skill by the sculptors of the Gupta epoch.

जोय वेण  
 (Pol. Imp)

<sup>3</sup> Mathura Museum, No. 2577, Jour. of India Society of Oriental Art, 1938, Pl. XV, Fig. 1.



The Ardhanārīśvara form<sup>4</sup> stands out as the most patent symbol of the synthesis achieved in this golden age when a wide spirit of tolerance and harmony was prevailing all round. We see this in the amity between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists, the concord between thought and action, the spirit of approximation between the divine and the human worlds. The last is reflected in a couplet of Kālidāsa describing the city of Ujjayīnī as a charming cross-section of heaven transferred to earth, or in the Gupta emperors' claims in their coin legends to the ideal of conquering the earth by their valour and heaven by their good deeds. In the domain of art also we find this characteristic stamp of harmony and balance expressed in the combination of physical beauty with a higher religious purpose governing objects of art. For exquisite charm the Gupta specimens of painting and sculpture hardly leave anything to be desired. The inherent aesthetic appeal is usually present and in addition we find that art stands integrated to a complete scheme of life inspired by an over-powering religious purpose. The rich fresco paintings of Ajanta, Bagh and Sigiriya and the images and sculptured reliefs in numerous temples derive their full importance from this outstanding factor.

The spirit of religious tolerance is also manifest in the equal emphasis on the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu in this period. In the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava* Kālidāsa apportions his devotion equally between them. The number of temples consecrated to the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu seems to be equally widely distributed and although the emperors held aloft the glory of the Garuḍa standard (*Garuḍadhvaja*), their devotion to Śiva was not less deep. Some of the most beautiful Śiva images like the Śivaliṅga from Khoh (Fig. 5) are from the Gupta

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the अर्धनारीश्वर head in the Mathura Museum, No. 362, published in *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1938, Coomaraswamy Volume, Pl. XV, Fig. 2, in my article on 'Brahmanical Iconography at Mathura.'



period. Both the Linga form and the human image of Śiva existed in the Kushana period, the latter occurring on the coin types also, but their blending as evolved in the Ekamukhī Śivaliṅgas was a characteristic feature of Gupta iconography. || \$ ||

✓ The worship of Vishnu which had already spread in the Kushāṇa period round about Mathura, received a fresh impetus and Vishnu images became much more common in the Gupta age. In Vishnu temples the secterian image occupied the same importance and central position as the image of Buddha occupied in a Buddhist Chaitya. The Vishnu image in the Dévagarh temple and the Buddha figure in the Ajanta cave temple occupied a parallel position. Mathura now seems to have become the most catholic centre of religion and art where temples of Vishnu, Śiva, and Buddha flourished side by side. A magnificent Brahmanical temple dedicated to Vishnu stood at the site of Katra Kesavadeva where there was also a Buddhist Vihāra in the reign of Chandragupta II. The great Varāha image at Udayagiri (ca. 400 A.D.) is a monument to the genius of the Gupta sculptors (Fig. 6). Its size and powerful execution furnish a happy contrast to the scenes of lesser dimensions forming the background. The colossal figure stands in a niche 12' 8" in height. On his right tusk is supported a woman personifying Prithvī, the earth goddess raised from the depths of the primaevæ sea. Kālidāsa makes an appropriate reference to Vishnu redeeming the earth from cosmic convulsions (Raghuvamśa, XIII. 8.) The image with the conspicuous garland looped round the arms and the body set up a type later on adopted on the coins known as Ādivaraha drammas. The two flanking scenes are of unusual significance, representing the birth of the twin rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, their confluence at Prayāga and the final merging into the ocean [Fig. 7] (c.f. Raghuvamśa XIII, 58). The whole scene is permeated with a lyrical feeling, and probably conveys an ideal representation of the

Vishnu in  
Kushana by

Mathura



Middle Country, the Madhyadeśa, which was the heart of the culture empire founded by the Guptas. Its symbols were the twin river goddesses Gangā and Yamuna, standing on their respective vehicles, the *makara* and the tortoise. It is only in Gupta art as in literature of this period that the two rivers make their appearance for the first time in the scheme of temple architecture, and we cannot but infer that Kālidāsa making a pointed reference to them as attendants of the temple deity is referring to a principal feature of contemporary art: मूर्ते च गंगा-यमुने तदानीं सचामरे देवमसेविषाताम्, (*Kumarsambhava*, VII. 42). "The goddesses Ganga and Yamuna assumed visible forms and with *chauries* in their hands took up positions as attendants of the great god." This characteristic feature is illustrated most artistically on the doorway of the Deva-garh temple. Detached images of the two river goddesses also occur in this period.

The best qualities of Gupta plastic art may be studied in a superb example of Gupta Vishṇu from Mathura (E. 6) (Fig. 8) with the face revealing a serene spiritual beauty with which we are familiar on the face of the famous statue of Buddha by Bhikshu Yaśadinna of Mathura and the seated image of Buddha in the Sarnath Museum. Some of the characteristic features of decoration on this figure are the elaborate crown on the head with pearl festoons (*mauktikajāla*), a lion-face emitting pearl strings in the apex of the crown, a *makarikā* ornament consisting of two addorsed alligator heads, a *chintāmaṇi* jewel set in deep-cut foliated scroll, frizzled hair falling loose on each shoulder, extended ear-lobes with rings, single pearl necklace of graded pearls adorned with a cylindrical bead of sapphire in the centre, a feature to which both Kālidāsa and Bāna make repeated reference (cf. एकावली or स्थूलमध्येन्द्रनील मुक्तागुण *Megha-duta* I. 46). The figure also wears under the single pearl string a clustered necklace of crescent shape formed by a number of intertwining pearl strings, armlets bearing the



design of a dancing peacock's canopy, a *yajñopavīta* of double chain with a serpent head carved at one end of the knot (*nāga-yajñopavīta*), a long *vaijayantī* garland and also creased and clinging loin-cloth held by a girdle knotted in front. The bust is carved in the round and the modelling has the effect of work turned on lathe, a comparison noticed by contemporary poets.

Gupta statuary also shows for the first time images of the cosmic form of Vishnu combining a human-head with that of a boar and a lion. These are images of Nṛsiṃha-Varāha Vishnu (M. M. 2525 B. 28), which Coomaraswamy takes to be an important document equally of art and iconography (Bull. MFA., Dec. 1919, No. 104, pp. 60—62). The arrangement of the boar and lion faces is variable on right and left shoulders. A different form of Vishnu's cosmic aspect (*Viśvarūpa*) also appears in this period in which the central human figure is surrounded by a number of radiating heads, e.g., the eight-armed figure on the great architrave from Garhwa (A.S.R., Vol. X, p. 13, Pl. VIIG; also a recently found figure on a relief from Mathura), such cosmic forms seem to reflect the (Purusha-sūkta) conception of the myriad-headed deity.

The attributes of Viṣṇu, *Śaṅkha*, *Chakra*, etc., figure in their natural form in Kushāna sculpture, but in Gupta images are personified as ayudha-purushas. Sometimes the symbols occur both in their natural and human forms. These figures are generally dwarfish as compared with the tall stature of the main figure, a fact true in the case of the Buddha and Jain statues also. Kālidāsa confirms the attendant figures being *vāmana*, 'short-statured' and says that each was marked with its respective symbol (Raghu., X. 60).

Sūrya images of ancient Indian type with a chariot of four horses are known in the early art of Bodhagaya (HIIA, fig. 61), Bhaja (HIIA, fig. 24) and Anantagumpha. A new type of Sūrya clad in Northern dress (*Uḍi-*



*chyaresha*) and wearing long buskined boots became the usual feature in Kushāṇa images influenced by the Magian sun worship from Persia. The Persian influence is even more strongly marked in the Gupta images not only of the sun god, but also of his two attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, the latter a pot-bellied figure holding a pen and an inkpot.

At Khair Khaneh near Kabul M. Hackin discovered a marble image of Sūrya dressed like a Sassanian king and wearing a round apron-like tunic fringed with pearls (Fig. 9). The Sassanian kings had a special liking for pearls set in the dress. Bāṇa also refers to the fashion of pearl-spangled tunics worn by kings in the train of Harsha (नारमुक्ताफलपञ्चयमान वारवान्). Some of the statues bearing close Sassanian influence lead us to infer that the intercourse between India and Persia in the Gupta-Sassanian epoch was much more intimate than is often imagined. A life-size bust (D. 1 Mathura Museum)<sup>5</sup> wearing a kulah cap (Skt. *khola*) with a crescent and globule symbol spiral curls of hair, a tight beard band, a bejewelled cuirass and a belted coat, represents a figure in Sassanian style. During the reigns of Shahpur II and his successors Ardashir II and Shahpur III (between 309 and 386 A.D.) upto the reign of Khusru II (590—628 A.D.), the cultural inter-relation between India and Persia was at its peak. The scene of the so-called Persian embassy being received by an Indian king in full court ceremonial painted in Cave I at Ajanta, and another scene identified as that of the Persian king Khusru Parwiz and his beautiful queen Shirin, illustrate the degree of Sassanian influence. This is evident all through in painting and sculpture and also in terracottas. The Indian artists in rendering the faces and costumes of their foreign neighbours scored a striking amount of success.

<sup>5</sup> A Handbook to the Mathura Museum, p. 52, Fig. 41.



II. *Terracottas.*

Terracottas formed another important branch of Gupta art. In this modest medium gifted clay modellers created things of real beauty and achieved a wide popular basis for their art. In status and prestige the modellers compared favourably with the builder, the painter and the engraver.<sup>6</sup> Clay figurines were used both for religious and secular purposes. They served as the poor man's sculpture and contributed largely to broadbase aesthetic culture and popularise art. As small objects easy to reproduce mechanically from moulds they were capable of mass production. Gupta men and women passionately fond of creating beautiful forms employed the terracotta medium with fondness and success. Inside the home, in the drawing rooms, and the lover's bed-chamber terracotta figurines showing amorous scenes or forms of exquisite beauty were displayed [Fig. 10]. On the exterior walls of houses plaques depicting deities, dwarfs and animals, or narrative scenes from epics and mythical stories were used in friezes. In the temple and the stūpa also bigger plaques and statues in clay were freely used. On festive occasions terracotta figurines were specially in demand. At the time of Rājyaśrī's marriage multitudes of modellers (*lepyakāra*) were engaged in moulding clay figures of fishes, tortoises, crocodiles, cocoanuts, plantains and betel trees (Harshacharita, Cowell, p. 124). Besides, female clay figurines holding auspicious fruits, technically named *Añjali-kārikā*, were fixed in the sides of the altar.

The terracotta figurines of the Gupta period may be classified under three heads (a) gods and goddesses, (b) male and female figures, (c) animal figurines and mis-

<sup>6</sup> Bāṇabhaṭṭa skilfully compares these four branches of art. Vaiśampāyana seated statuesquely in a love-smitten condition is said to appear as static as a pillar in a building, a figure in painting, a carved statue in sculpture or like a figure modelled in clay. स्तम्भित इव, लिखित इव, उत्कीर्ण इव, पुस्तमय इव—Kādambarī.



cellaneous objects. The last comprised water-spouts in the form of various animal heads, in which the *makara* motif is more numerous than others. Amongst deities we have figures of Vishṇu, Kārttikeya (cf. a beautiful panel from Mathura, No. 2794, with the deity riding on peacock, Mathura Museum Handbook, fig. 40, Sūrya (cf. round plaques from Ahichchhatra showing the deity seated in a chariot moving on one wheel, with seven horses and twin goddesses Ushā and Pratyushā shooting arrows of light), goddess Durgā on lion (a good specimen from Sahet Mahet in the Lucknow Museum), Kubera and Nāgas, etc. At Ahichchhatrā almost life-size images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā stood on the sides of the main approach to the terraced temple of Śiva. Another big figure from Kasia shows seated Pārvatī with her two sons Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya engaged in a lively scramble for sweet balls. The baking of such large sized images and plaques is always a matter of considerable difficulty and must have presented a difficult technical problem to the expert clay modellers of Gupta age.

The group of detached male and female figures shows a great variety of forms, comprising charming representations of aristocratic men and women, figures of foreigners from Persia and Central Asia whose influx in the population introduced new facial types, too conspicuous to be ignored by the modellers, and ordinary figures of attendants of all classes, like grooms, elephant-riders, jesters and dwarfs (*vāmanaka*), etc. A scientific study of the Śakas, Pahlavas Kushānas, Pārasīkas, Hūnas and other races entering India in early times is needed to identify the various facial types from amongst hoards of terracotta figurines found during the excavations of ancient sites in North India. Amongst them detached heads predominate and for our period three types may be roughly distinguished. Firstly Sasanian heads with a peaked chin covered very often with a short beard, aquiline or long "Parsi" nose, heavy eyelets, sometimes applique, crio-sphinx eyes,



a round turban or *kulah* cap. This almost illustrates the description given of them by Ammianus Marcellinus: 'The Persians were almost all slender, with dark or livid complexion, hard 'goat-like' eyes, arched eye-brows meeting in the middle, carefully tended beards, and a long frizzy hair.' A corresponding female type also occurs. Secondly, there is the type representing some Central Asian nomad whose precise identification is still uncertain. In this class the head often has a conspicuous size, plump cheeks, a double chin and usually ends in a tenon by which it was fixed to the rest of the modelled body. The workmanship is comparatively crude. The female figure in this group shows a projecting ridge of hair on the forehead and pig-tail coiffure at the back of the head. On the technical side coarse clay mixed profusely with rice husk is used. These heads stand out not as specimens of art but as objects of historical value on account of their ethnic interest.

The third group of heads made of fine well-baked clay originally belonged to smaller plaques which were completely pressed out of moulds. The faces combine elegance of features with gorgeous coiffure and constitute a veritable gallery for the study of beautiful types admired in that art-conscious age. [Figs. 12-15] Hundreds of specimens hold out to our eyes even to day the charming ideals of feminine beauty immortalized by the classical poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa who strive so often to paint a vision of loveliness conceived by men and women in their times. The terracotta figurines from the recent excavations at Rajghat and Ahichchhatra present a feast of beauty to the eye and the best female heads skilfully finished appear like lyrics expressed in clay. They are remarkable firstly for the pleasing variety of coiffure and secondly for paintings in lines and colours still preserved on some of them. The most characteristic style was to arrange the hair in spiral curls on both sides of the forehead in tiers. Gupta men and women had a special fondness for this mode which was



called *alaka*<sup>7</sup> (Figs. 12-13). Some excellent specimens show the style of hair in the form of peacock's feathers sweeping straight on the two sides from the central parting and ending in short volutes, described as *barhabhāra* coiffure in the Meghaduta and the Daśakumāra charita. (Figs. 14-15.) Another aristocratic fashion of hair took the form of a honey-comb, which formed a very attractive design (Fig. 10) and seems to have had an international vogue in Gupta times, being patronized by society women even in Rome. A beautiful plaque from Rajghat shows a lady gracefully seated on a swing suspended from an Asoka tree. The breeze in the garden is wafting her flowing garment and is gently shaking the foliage of the tree. It is a masterpiece combining movement and poise. [Fig. 11.].

The Gupta terracottas also reveal the use of brush by skilful painters. Unfortunately a limited number only preserve the traces of this once common decoration.<sup>8</sup> In 1911-12 the Bhita excavations exposed a considerable number of terracottas about which Sir John Marshall wrote: "Side by side were produced in Gupta times, figurines of a far more finished style, which reflects in minor measure the artistic spirit of the paintings and sculptures of that epoch. All are mechanical reproductions from moulds, a few of which were found, but duplicates in the collections are rare. Some of the figurines are without slip or paint; others are painted in a monochrome—red or yellow, for instance and others are coated with a slip and adorned with a variety of colours—red and pink and yellow and white. But apart from their artistic interest, these figurines are valuable for the in-

<sup>7</sup> Kalidāsa often describes *alaka* to be the mark of a beautiful face; the hair of Indumatī being referred to as *valibhritāḥ*, i.e., frizzled or twisted in short crisp ringlets (Raghu. 8. 53). The female toilet-experts (*Prasādhikas*) used scented powder and paste to secure the effect of spiral twisting.

<sup>8</sup> Kālidāsa only once has occasion to describe a terracotta figure in his works and there he notices the clay peacock of the Rishi child Mārkaṇḍeya to be painted *सृष्टिकामयूर-वर्णचित्रित* Sakuntalā, VII).



formation they furnish as to the fashions in vogue during the Gupta age. The various modes of dressing the hair were as numerous then as they are among women today, and perhaps even more startling. The men, certainly must have been foppish to a degree, with their long curls falling loose on one side only, or elaborated like a full Gregorian wig, or coiffured with jewels in the Antoinette style, or disposed more severely in the royal manner of Persia." (Arch. Survey Report, 1911-12-, p. 72).

Much of the terracotta work is informed with the spirit of true art prevailing at the time and it may rightly be claimed for the Gupta artist that he adorned whatever he touched. The vision of Bāṇabhatta that the four quarters in his age shone forth as if beautified by clay models (पुस्तमय इव चकसिरे ककुभः) seems to have been based on the production of clay and stucco work on a mass scale. We know that almost all the Jaulian and Mohra Morāḍu sculptures are executed in clay or stucco once beautifully coloured and gilt, and that after third century A.D., there was hardly any production in stone in the Gandhara school of the North-West.

The pottery types of the Gupta period played as noteworthy a part in the cultural scheme of the age as the clay figurines. A considerable number of drinking bowls and cups from Ahichchhatra (1940-43), for the first time scientifically separated and studied, afford an outstanding proof of the excellence of the potter's craft. Although small in size the bowls are perfect in shape and finish and marked by many decorative patterns, as rosettes, geometrical figures, bands of lotuses alternating with conch, running boar and elephant designs. [Fig 16]. They are in a variety of shapes—round, ellipsoidal, flat-bottomed, open at the top and receding at the base. The rims in most cases are plain without recurving feature. The form of the water-jars is that of a long-necked bottle with a bulging belly usually finished in red glazed polish and furnished with attractive animal spouts. Gupta drinking ves-



sels show striking examples of handles of which one with the figure of Ganga found at the site of Naliasar-Sambhar in Jaipur State is particularly happy.

### III. Sculpture

Much of our esteem for Gupta art can be credited to its excellent sculpture. Under the stroke of the master's chisel the stone became malleable as it were, and was transformed into figures of permanent beauty and grace. Some of the masterpieces from this period are creations of real skill. The image of Ganga from Besnagar is one such example. The three well-known sculptures, from Deogarh, Nara-Nārāyaṇa in their Himalayan hermitage [Fig. 17], Vishnu reclining on Ananta [Fig. 18] and the Gajendramoksha panel fixed in the niches (*rathikā*) of the temple are excellent examples of beautiful carving [Fig. 19]. The attendant figures of men and women on the two door jambs of this temple are genuine works of elegance hardly excelled. The success of Gupta sculpture lies in its attaining a golden mean between the obtruding sensuousness of the Kushāna figures and the symbolic abstraction of the early medaeival figures. The sportive female figures on Mathura rail pillars 'standing in various attitudes and delicate poses, stealing the hearts of the gods as it were with their rolling glances and teasing as it were with the play of their eyes' (*Rāyapasenīya Sutta*) were now a thing of the past. Such aggressive beauty was no longer in accord with the spirit of the Gupta age in which much greater emphasis was laid on the ideal of tapas (cf. the penance of Pārvaṭi described by Kālidāsa and the sculpture of Naranarāyaṇa in their Himalayan hermitage). The motif of the railing female figure fell into disuse, as the gupta artist concentrated his attention not on the external railing but on the central image inside the shrine. The sensuousness of the female form was restrained by a conscious moral sense, and nudity as a rule was eliminated from Gupta art. The effect of the diaphanous drapery



in Kushāṇa art is to reveal the charm of the flesh, the Gupta artist on the other hand employs drapery to conceal those very charms.

The harmony of the external form with the inner spirit is nowhere better illustrated than in the Buddha images of this period. The three most outstanding examples are the seated Buddha image from Sarnath [Fig. 20] the inscribed image of the standing Buddha of the fifth century in the Mathura Museum (A. 5) [Fig. 21] and the colossal copper statue of Buddha (about 7½ feet high) from Sultan-ganj now in the Birmingham Museum. The last statue as observed by Smith may be dated approximately in A.D. 400 and is among the earliest known Gupta works of art (*A History of Fine Art*, p. 172). The spiritual expression, the tranquil smile and the serene contemplative mood of the Sarnath Buddha posed on a diamond seat in the attitude of preaching the way of salvation show us the highest triumph of Indian art, viz., an attempt to visualise the superman endowed with the highest wisdom (*anuttarajñāna*), detached and austere in his discipline but still disposed for the good of mankind. The expression on the face of the Mathura statue is equally spiritual and possessed of an almost divine radiating influence. The drapery is transparent in both cases, that at Sarnath being plain and at Mathura marked with schematic folds. The halo in the Kushāṇa images of the Buddha was plain with only a short scalloped margin, but the halo of the Gupta Buddhas is elaborate and covered all over with concentric bands of graceful ornamentation. The halo on the Mathura Buddha imitates the full blown lotus<sup>9</sup> with concentric bands showing rope design, rosettes, foliated scroll with peacock design, a coiled garland, beaded border and

<sup>9</sup> Kālidāsa compares the halo of his ideal hero Raghu with a full-blown lotus parasol (*padmātapatra*) and says that the former was the exact shadow of the latter (Raghu. IV. 5); this description seems truly confirmed in the elaborate lotus halos of the Gupta period. In Kumārasambhava he refers to the halo of Parvati as स्फुरत्प्रभामंडल on account of its radiating pencils of light (I. 24).



scallops (*hastniakha*). This halo was schemetically painted, traces of which in the peacock's feathers are still preserved.<sup>10</sup> The seated Buddha image from Mankuar in Allahabad district dated in the reign of Emperor Kumāragupta I (Gupta era 129, 448-9 A.D.), is the only Gupta example of the old Kushāṇa type with shaven head and a muscular bust. In all other images the head is covered with curls. This image also shows the webbed fingers, an auspicious mark of greatness, which is referred to by Kālidāsa in the case of prince Bharata as जालंगुलिकर.

By the time of the Guptas, the Mahāyāna Buddhism had established a separate pantheon with several Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The rival schools of the Mahāsaṃghikas, Sammitīyas, Sarvāstivādins etc., took a lively interest in this elaboration, each claiming allegiance to the Buddha and declaring him to be in favour of its own particular doctrine (*svamatāviruddha*). Of these Bodhisattvas the images of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara finely executed in Sarnath style are worth mentioning. The Buddha image in the Gupta school provides an important testimony of the freshness and vitality of that art. As Smith remarks in connection with the Sarnath figure, the Gupta Buddha is "absolutely independent of the Gandhara school" (Hist. Fine Art, p. 170); it reveals the fullest fruition of the Indian genius in perfecting a figure in harmony with its own spiritual conceptions. The image was also integrated to the pattern of the structural temples. The devout inspiration manifest in the Gupta Buddha figure travelled to Greater India, to the east and the north where it is palpable as a living force in the innumerable images of the succeeding centuries.

Again, the sculpture of this period is also rich in secular themes taken from life and also specialises in charming ornamental designs. A lintel in the Lucknow

<sup>10</sup> Mr. H. Waddington of the Arch. Dept. first drew my attention to the surviving marks of the original colour scheme on the halo of the Mathura Buddha (A. 5).



Museum illustrates the lively scene of the wrestling duel between Bhimasena and Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha. [Fig. 22]. On a door-jamb from Garhwa we find the Kalpalatā motif treated in an exquisite style. [Fig. 23]. According to Cunningham it is 'the undulating stem of a creeper with large curly and inter-twining leaves, and small human figures, both male and female, climbing up the stem, and sitting on the leaves in various attitudes. The whole scroll is deeply sunk and very clearly and carefully carved; and . . . is one of the most pleasing and graceful specimens of Indian architectural ornament' (ASR, X, p. 12).<sup>11</sup> The foliated scroll was a special trait of Gupta art. As Smith has observed: "The intricate scroll-work on the western face of the celebrated Dhamekh stūpa at Sarnath is one of the most successful examples of the decoration of a large wall surface to be found in India. The artist who traced the wonderfully complexed spirals must have undergone prolonged and rigorous training" (HFA, p. 168). In literary descriptions we find several names for this kind of work, e.g.,

पत्रलता, पत्रांगुलि पत्रभंगरचना, अनेकभंगकुटिलपत्रावली ।

The fondness for curves and twists grew in later times with an increasing tendency for deep cutting until at last it reached its logical sequence in the almost perforated work of the screens and reliefs in medieval art (c. 11th—12th century), as seen in Chandela and the Dilwara marble temples.

#### IV. Architecture.

The wave of creative enthusiasm and the intensely religious purpose that swept the country in this age are seen in their most dominant form in the architectural activity which produced the earliest Brahmanical temple. According to Percy Brown a synchronization of several

<sup>11</sup> This motif of the *nāridā sākhā*, of the girls springing from the Wish-fulfilling lilies is as old as the Jatakas, Mahābhārata Jāt. IV, 352; Rāmāyaṇa, (Kishkindhā, 43. 48) and Mahābhārata (Bhīma, VII. 9) (Cf. JISOA, 1943, pp. 1—8).



circumstances, e.g., the unification of the country under one state, the stabilised rule of a virile and cultured dynasty of rulers whose personal patronage and scholarly encouragement created an atmosphere favourable to the revival of all forms of human activity, and the re-assertion of the innate faith of the people, viz., Brahmanical Hinduism with its grand mythology, ushered in an era of India's greatest intellectual awakening which influenced profoundly the architecture of the age. As he says: "In the art of building two progressive movements of fundamental significance are discernible, one relating to its aesthetic character, and the other to structural procedure. The former marks the begetting of a new sensibility, a change from the mere imitative to the infinitely creative, from the servile copying of meaningless forms expressive of an undeveloped mind and unskilled forces, to a reasoned application of the first principles of architectural compositions. The latter records the use for the first time of dressed stone masonry, a pronounced step in the technique of building construction, the introduction of which placed a new power in the hands of the workman. It was when the art was in such a formative state that there emerged the earliest known conception of the Hindu 'house of god', and with the appearance of this type of building, architecture composed of stone masonry made its beginning.' (*Ind. Archit., Buddhist and Hindu*, p. 54). The unprecedented prosperity of the state and the people created a widespread belief that our affluent world was a prototype of heaven ( ऋद्धं हि राज्यं पदमेन्द्रमाहुः, Raghu. II. 50) and in their art of temple building we see but an earnest attempt to create heaven's rich and beautiful mansions on this earth.

The surviving Gupta temples are almost clustered in Central India as follows:—

1. Vishṇu temple at Tigowa in Jubbulpore district.
2. Śiva temple at Bhumra in Nagod State.



3. Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthara in Ajaigarh State.
4. Buddhist shrine at Sanchi.
5. Buddhist shrine at Bodh-Gaya near the Maha-Bodhi temple.
6. The Daśāvatara Viṣṇu temple at Devagarh.
7. A temple of Śiva at Khoh in Nagod State, the beautiful *Ekamukhī līṅga* with a mass of sculpture showing lively *ganās* from this temple being now deposited in the Allahabad Museum.
8. A temple in a ruined state but of great merit, found at Dah-Parbatia in Darrang district of Assam belongs to the same period.

The brick temples, of which numerous examples from Bhitargaon in Cawnpore district to Pahrapur in Bengal and Sirpur in C.P. have been found opened a new field for the modellers' art and in many places terracotta plaques and sculptures of large size were used to adorn these buildings. The Bhitargaon temple conceived from top to bottom in terms of brick and terracotta is beautified with several courses of well-preserved friezes and moulded bricks. (Cunningham, A.S.R, Vol. XI, p. 40). The designs on the bricks are exceedingly varied and beautiful, some of the typical ones being inverted lotus petal, rosettes, fret work, interlocked chain, meander and scroll. The designs of the mouldings in the basement and the *śikhara*, and the vertical bands forming the facade, the sides and the door-frames are worthy specimens of the planning and executive skill of the builders. The Bhitargaon temple is also known for possessing the earliest true arch found in India. This as well as the Devagarh temple have pyramidal śikharas. The *śikhara* of the Devagarh temple is raised on a flat roof.

Chronologically earliest is the excavated cave temple at Udayagiri bearing a dated inscription in the reign of



Chandragupta II (401 A.D.). The shrine is partly rock-cut and partly stone-built, a shallow pillared portico being added in front of the excavated cella. This style is just a transition from the pure rock-cut cave to the completely structural temple. The carvings of the sculptures, the pillars with their capitals of the vase and foliage (*pūrṇa kalāśa*) pattern, and the doorway are typical of the Gupta style.

The characteristic features of Gupta style may be thus analysed :—

A square sanctum with a flat roof, plain interior, dressed stone masonry finely set but without any kind of mortar, a raised plinth the plan of which was divided into squares and the central square being occupied by the sanctum (*garbhagriha*), an exquisitely carved doorway decorated with foliage pattern, human figures and the figures of Gangā and Yamunā occupying the upper corners of the jambs. This last was a typically Gupta feature and the two river goddesses in this position may have been derived from the *śālabhañjikā* figures which festooned the architraves of Buddhist toraṇas (Percy Brown, *ibid.*, p. 55). In front of the richly carved doorway was usually a shallow porch, which in later Gupta examples developed into a pillared portico and later on into a full-fledged *mukha-maṇḍapa*. Among other specific features are the shape of the pillars having a plain square base, many-sided shaft, and a capital of *pūrṇa-kalāśa* design, the system of rendering the architrave as a string-course running round the entire building, and all round courses of fine chaitya windows or *gavāksha vātāyana* patterns containing in their medallions figures of gods and goddesses or peeping male and female busts.

Most of these elements are seen at their best in the Dasāvatāra temple of Devagarh. When complete this building was unquestionably one of rare merit in the correct ordering of its parts, all alike serving the purpose of practical utility, yet imbued with supreme artis-



tic feeling. Few monuments can show such a high level of workmanship, combined with ripeness and rich refinement in its sculptural effect as the Gupta temple at Devagarh (Percy Brown, *Hindu Arch.*, p. 58).

The doorway leading to the sanctum was the chief centre of attraction in a Gupta temple, serving as an elegant outer frame to set off the image installed in the cella. It was marked by the following decorative features :

A projecting image in the centre of the lintel (*dvāralālāṭa-bimba*), attendant figures (*pratihārī*) occupying the lower one-fourth portion of the height of the jamb, auspicious birds on wings (*maṅgalya vihaga*) usually flying geese, auspicious tree (*Śrīvṛksha*), more or less stylised. Svastika, Full Vase or pot and foliage design (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*), amorous couples (*mithunas*), foliated scrolls (*patra-vallī*), and dwarfish figures (*pramathas*). All these motifs occur on the Devagarh door frame [Fig. 25] except the lucky girds which adorn the door jambs of the Dah Parbatia temple in Assam. Another typical feature of decoration consisted in the two auspicious symbols conch and lotus being either carved or painted on door jambs (cf. the reference in Meghadūta II. 17, द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषो शंखपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा). These two symbols with rising arabesque designs are seen in the jambs of the beautifully framed panels on the three outer walls at Devagarh [Fig. 17]. The style of such panels or images in exterior wall niches (*rathikā-bimba*) continued as a common feature into the medieval temples. Originally it appears to have been an adaptation of the *stūpa* decoration having four Buddha figures all round.

Two other structural features point to the relationship of the Gupta temple with Buddhist *stūpas*: firstly, the high square platform with a stair way in the centre of each side, and secondly, four small temples or sanctuaries at the four corners. Many earlier Indian *stūpas* such as those of Bhallar (Taxila) and Mirpur Khas (Sind) and others in Afghanistan stand on a single square or



rectangular platform with axial approaches on one or four sides (*HIIA*, p. 205). This is confirmed by the *Divyāvadāna* which gives us an almost contemporaneous description of how a small *chaitya*, which is also called *stūpa*, was converted into a chapel of larger dimensions with four approaches (*sopāna*) on the four sides leading up to the terraces (*medhi*) of which there were three. It had four Mahāchaityas dedicated to the four Great Events—*Jāti Abhisambodhi*, *Dharmachakrapravartana* and *Parinirvāṇa*—built at the corners. (*Divyāvadāna*, pp. 243-44). The Mirpurkhas *stūpa* of the early Gupta period is an example of the combination of a *stūpa* with three small chapels (*alpeśākhyā chaitya*). There is a true brick arch in the central chapel and its carved bricks and terracotta Buddhas afford fine examples of Gupta art.

A vigorous school of Gandhara sculpture associated with monumental *stūpas* flourished in the earlier part of the Gupta period dating from a little before or after 400 A.D. The style of these Gandharan stucco and clay figures becomes profoundly Indianised. It is quite animated and free. Much of this sculpture was once coloured and gilt. *Stūpas*, chapels, and monasteries have been found at Jaulian, Charsadda and other older sites near Pushkalāvati. At Mohra Murādu an assembly hall, refectory, kitchen, store room and bath room, associated with a religious establishment indicate a luxurious mode of life amongst the inmate Bhikshus.

Of palace architecture in the Gupta age hardly any traces have survived. But we may form some idea of the royal pavilions from the mural paintings at Ajanta (Fig. 26). Moderate in size (नातिमहतः Bāṇa) they were raised on four cylindrical pillars (मणिदण्डिका चतुष्टय) decorated with golden festoons (कनकशृङ्खलानियमित) and from their roof was pendent a clustered string of big pearls (अवलम्बितस्यूलमुक्ताकलाप). Under the canopy was placed the royal seat (*paryāṅkikā*), a foot-stool and other furniture. This formed the *āsthāna maṇḍapa*, the royal seat of private



audience, furnished in the most tasteful style (Cf. Kādambarī, the audience hall of king Śūdraka).

### V. *Painting.*

No description of Gupta art can be complete without a reference to the highly developed art of painting. The literature of this period tells us that the art of painting was an accomplishment which every man and woman of culture desired to attain. Kālidāsa and Bāṇa often make use of similes drawn from technical terms used in painting. Thus while describing Pārvatī's first bloom of maidenhood the poet observes that she looked like a painting on which the final outline had been done (उन्मीलि तूलिकयेव चित्रम्. Kumār., I. 32). In Sanskrit dramas and romances portrait painting had become almost a convention and many lovers were united through the medium of portraits. It seems that even the kings, though very busy in the affairs of state, could spare time to cultivate this graceful art. Duṣhyanta is shown painting the portrait of Śakuntalā in separation on a board (Sak., Act VI). The princes received their training in drawing and painting as part of a general scheme of education.

The Gupta age was also marked by the preparation of technical texts on art, architecture and painting. The Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, a work of the Gupta period, devotes a special section to painting. The text gives us the interrelation between painting, dancing and music, the common point of which is rhythm, and then detailed instructions as regards surface preparation in fresco painting, different kinds of colours and methods to employ them. Then follow sections on the technique of stippling and the rudiments of shading. Points of special aesthetic interest are also emphasised. Thus the beauty of line is said to be the special point of appreciation by the master artists; the connoisseurs take delight in stippling and the rudiments of shading; colouring is not of such great importance. The aesthetic ideal of



pictorial art in this period has been expressed by Yaśodhara, the commentator of the Kāmasūtra, in the following couplet :—

रूपभेदः प्रमाणानि भाव-लावण्यं योजनम् ।

सादृश्यं वर्णिकाभंगः षडेते चित्रमङ्गकम् ॥

The appraisal of forms, correct proportion, maintaining of proper aesthetic interest, the beauty of touches, realism, and the proper use of colours, these are the constituents of the pictorial art: The truth of this dictum is borne out by the art of Ajanta, which is a living testimony to India's great artistic conventions.

The celebrated examples of Gupta painting are preserved in the wall frescoes of the Ajanta-caves, the Bagha caves in Gwalior State, Sittannavasal temple in Pudukkottai State and in the rock-cut chambers at Sigiriya in Ceylon.

The caves at Ajanta, twenty-nine in number, are excavated in the face of an almost perpendicular scarp of rock about 250 feet high, sweeping round in a semi-circular curve. Caves No. 9, 10, 19, 26 are *chaityas* and the rest are *vihāras* or monastic residences. Originally the majority of the caves were embellished with paintings but now only in six of them Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 16, 27, paintings have survived. Caves 9 and 10 show the earliest specimens of Indian painting (circa 1st century B.C.) after which for about 300 years there is a gap in our evidence. According to Tarānāth there was a revival of the arts of sculpture and painting about the Gupta period under the artist Bimbasāra whose works were specially wonderful and equal in merit to those of the "gods". This was styled the Madhyadeśa school.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Taranath also refers to the Western school of painting with Sārngadhara as the principal artist born in the reign of Śīlāditya Guhila; this was the precursor of the Jaina and the Rajasthani painting. With the rise of the Apabhramsa language under the Gurjara-Pratihara empire this school also seems to have attained a dominant position. Taranath's Eastern school was the Pāla school of Varendra inspired by the artists Dhīman and his son Bitapālo, under Dharmapāla and Devapāla (9th cent.).



On the technical side the surface of these paintings was prepared in a very simple way. Pulverised rock, cowdung, earth, and chaff were mixed and the resultant composition was thoroughly pressed on the rather porous surface of the volcanic traprock. The surface was then levelled with a trowel and after it was dried the drawings in bold outline were directly done by the artists in red ochre (*dhāturāga ālekhana*). The colours were very simple. Red ochre, yellow ochre, indigo, lapis lazuli (राजावर्त, लाजवर्द) lamp black and chalk were used very effectively. There was no attempt at modelling though at times shading was done by dotting and crosslines. High light at times was added on the ornaments or nose to give them prominence. The artist at Ajanta did not bother himself with the detailed representation of the architecture and whatever architectural details have been introduced were with a view to enhance the effectiveness of the composition.

In the sylvan retreat of the Vaghora where nature reigns supreme the great artists drew their inspiration. Nature to the Indian artist has appealed not as a turbulent force, but in her gentler aspects. The flowering tress, quietly flowing streamlets and the roaming denizens of the forest have received unqualified appreciation from him. The elephants, deer, monkeys and the mean hare are represented with utmost sympathy. In drawing the fighting and charging bulls the artists of Ajanta and Bagh have no equal. To the Indian mind the animals are part and parcel of that pattern of creation which the artist, the philosopher and the intelligent citizen, all alike learnt to understand sympathetically.

A broad and comprehensive outlook on life inspired the painters to greet the whole world as part of their repertoire. In the words of Bāṇabhaṭṭa the wall paintings made manifest as it were the whole universe—*darśita viśvarupā*—an epithet that conveys most appropriately the comment of a contemporary critic on the universal nature



of that art. 'On the hundred walls and pillars of these rock-carved temples a vast drama moves before our eyes, a drama played by princes and sages and heroes, by men and women of every condition, against a marvellously varied scene, among forests and gardens, in courts and cities, on wide plains and in deep jungles; while above, the messengers of heaven move swiftly across the sky. From all these emanates a great joy in the surpassing radiance of the face of the world, in the physical nobility of men and women, in the strength and grace of animals and the loveliness and purity of birds and flowers; and woven into this fabric of material beauty we see the ordered pattern of the spiritual realities of the universe. It is this perfect combination of material and spiritual energy which marks the great periods of art. (Rothenstein) This spirit of universal composition त्रिभुवन संपुंजन, as it is termed by Bāṇa in the Kādambarī, was the key-note of the success of the great masters of Ajanta.

The subjects of the paintings are three-fold, relating to decoration, portraiture and narration. The decorative designs include patterns and scrolls (*patrāvalī*) figures of animals, flowers and trees. Their variety according to Griffiths is infinite, carried into smallest details so that repetition is very rare. Graceful figures of fabulous creatures and mythological beings, such as Suparṇas (with a human bust joined to the body of a bird), Garuḍas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, have been used to fill spaces.<sup>13</sup>

Of the portraits the central figures are those of the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Incidents from the life of Gautama Buddha are freely painted. The most beautiful of the paintings are those which treat of the legends relating to the earthly life of the Buddha—vigorous and exuberant, natural and aspiring towards an ideal. The great Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara in Cave I shows the highest attainment in the way of figure pain-

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Kadambarī describing the painted halls of Ujjayini—  
सुरादुरसिद्धान्धर्व विद्याधरौरगाध्यासिताभिश्चित्र शालाभिरलंकृता ।



ting. [Fig. 27]. We may recognize it as the very acme of Asiatic pictorial art. The narrative scenes are mostly from the Jātakas, e.g., the Viśvantara, Śhaḍanta Śibi Jātaka etc.

The paintings in Cave 16 date from about 500 and are slightly earlier than those in Cave 17. The scene known as the 'Dying Princess' in Cave 16 has received unstinted praise from Griffiths, 'For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing and the Venetian better colour but neither could have thrown greater expression into it' (H.F.A., p. 286). In Cave 17 we find a considerable amount of work of the narrative style still preserved and the cave has been called literally a picture gallery illustrating some of the most engrossing episodes in the birth, life and death of the Buddha. The art is more graphic and less ideal. Mr. Havell gives the meed of praise to the charming Mother and Child group in Cave 17 which he considers as the most attractive specimen of Ajanta art. The scene of a hunt of lions and black buck and of a hunt of elephants in Cave 17 are considered to be exceptionally fine work. According to Mrs. Herringham these pictures are composed in a light and shade scheme which can scarcely be paralleled in Italy before the seventeenth century and the whole posing and grouping is curiously natural and modern.

The paintings of Cave 1 and 2 are the latest of the series which may be dated to about the early seventh century. The special merit of individual figures in Cave 2 consists in clever drawing which shows the artist to have apparently gone out of his way to invent specially difficult poses. The woman standing with her left leg bent up and the swinging figure of lady Irandatī are very pleasing. A large picture in Cave I shows the Indian king Pulakeśin II receiving an embassy from the Persian king Khusrū Parvez (सुश्रव परविजयी). This event must have taken place

F. 17



between A.D. 626 and 628. Several drinking groups in Cave I show connection with the great embassy picture. These seem to illustrate Khusru and his queen Shirin drinking together. The faces, the drapery and other articles are clearly of Persian influence.

The paintings at Bagh in Malwa represent only an extension of the Ajanta school and in variety of design, vigorous execution and decorative quality seem to have ranked as high as those at Ajanta. The majority of them are of a secular nature. In two of the groups the subject is extremely gay, illustrating the performance of the *hal-lisaka* dance, a musical drama acted by a troupe of women led by a man. They are elaborately dressed, singing and dancing with considerable freedom. The beautiful dancing Apsara from Sittannavasal cave is a masterpiece of Indian painting. (Fig. 28).

The art of Ajanta and Bagh shows the Madhyadeśa school of painting at its best. The assurance and delicacy of lines, the brilliancy of colours and the richness of expression informed with a feeling of buoyant and pulsating life, have rendered this art supreme for all times. It captured in itself the best traditions of the art renaissance at home and set up traditions which travelled to far off countries, such as Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan and Indo-China. It became the cosmopolitan art of the Buddhist world and seems to have gone with Buddhism wherever it went. The discovery of frescoes in Central Asia, in Khotan, at Turfan, at Tunhuang have only served to focus greater attention on the frescoes of Ajanta. The task of reproducing, identifying, interpreting and lastly assimilating the paintings with all their rich cultural contents is fraught with great significance for our newly awakened national self. As in the past so also in future the inspiration of this great art may serve as the fountain-head for new cultural movements.



VI. *General Estimate*

The characteristic features of the Gupta art are refinement, naturalness, simplicity of expression and a dominant spiritual purpose, which *en semble* have given it an unchallenged greatness for all times. In the first place Gupta art is marked by refinement and restraint which are the signs of a highly developed cultural taste and aesthetic enjoyment. The artist no longer relies on volume to give the impression of grandiose forms, but focuses his attention on elegance which is not lost in the exuberance of ornaments. The keynote of his art is restraint which eschews heaviness. The truth is at once apparent if we compare the standing life-size figure of the Gupta Buddha of Yaśadinnā with the colossal standing Bodhisattva in the Sarnath Museum, both from Mathura in red sandstone. The exuberance and whirlpool movement of Amaravati marbles yielded place to an aesthetic sobriety in the treatment of the drapery, ornaments and other elements of decoration. The transparent drapery revealing the nudity of feminine form in the Kushana period now serves a more edifying purpose, viz., to enhance the loveliness of the modulating lines of the figure. The ponderous ornaments on Kushana figures enhance the effect of volume, but betray styles in primitive fashion, whereas the purpose of the Gupta ornaments by their lightness and delicate workmanship, is to impart a graceful touch to the body which is so restful to the eyes. Whatever emerges from the hands of the Gupta artist appears perfectly natural, there is no place for over-elaboration. It is not the product of a craftsmen's mechanical skill but the result of the discriminating taste of a true artist who is conscious of his work and is master of his technique. For the first time we could perhaps rightly say that art had been elevated to the status of fine art, and it is possible in the words of Kalidasa to designate the creations of Gupta art by the term *Lalita-Kalā* (*Raghu.*, VIII. 67).



Another characteristic of Gupta art is the concept of Beauty for which we have the very appropriate term *Rūpam*, used again by the same great poet. Beauty of the male and female forms springing from the culture of mind and body, is the craving of the Gupta citizen. Every one seems to have been under the influence of a grand movement to live in and to work for the loveliness of human body, and the fashions and fancies of that age bespeak a highly sophisticated sense for personal decoration. The gorgeous wigs, the curls arranged in the style of peacock's feathers and the extremely charming style of honey-comb coiffure bear testimony to the extremely developed art of hair dressing. These coiffures have been freely represented in sculptures and paintings, and we can still visualise many a lovely fashion in hair dressing preserved to our own times in the paintings of Ajanta. The black masses of hair beautified with white flowers and fastened with spotless wreaths still retain their power to thrill and excite.

The men and women in this art-loving age applied themselves to the worship of the beautiful form in many ways. Aesthetic culture, however, did not weaken the strong structure and stamina of life or bedim its supreme objective by giving up to a riotous worship of the senses. Art was worshipped in order to engender an elevating and ennobling influence on life. Its aim was to deepen the consciousness of the soul and awaken it to a new sense of spiritual joy and nobility. Kalidasa, as the supreme genius and poet of this age has expressed this attitude of life to beauty in a concise sūtra which is addressed to Parvati, the very embodiment of personal charm, by Śiva before the two are married. 'O fair damsel! the popular saying that beauty does not signify sin is full of unexceptionable truth (Kumar. V. 36).

यदुच्यते पार्वति पापवृत्तये न रूपमित्यव्यभिचारि तद्वचः ।

**The path of virtue is the path of beauty**—this appears to be the guiding impulse of life in the Gupta age. To



create lovely forms and harness them to the needs of higher life, this golden harmony made Gupta art a thing of such perpetual and deep attraction.

This leads us to the third distinguishing feature of Gupta art, namely its profound religious and spiritual appeal, its basic inspiration from a higher source investing it not only with great charm but also with universal and lasting significance.

The epic of the Buddha's life which the master artists painted on a colossal scale in the caves at Ajanta has become for all times the standing commentary on the grand ordered patterns of good and evil manifesting themselves in each individual's life and governing also the whole world. The painted forms of gods and sages, of kings and councillors, of queens and attendants, embellished with personal charm and majesty, present to the eye the choicest expressions which spiritual reality can assume in stepping down from the divine to the human plane. It seems as if art subscribed to the ideal of *Anuttara-jñānāvāpti* (अनुत्तर ज्ञानावप्ति) so often declared as life's supreme goal in the written records of the age. Religion did not impede the free development of art which retained throughout its aesthetic and secular appeal. We find in the narrative paintings of Ajanta charming and delicate scenes from contemporary life inserted freely. Scenes of home and palace life depicting toilet and sports, festivities and processions have converted these paintings into a record of permanent value and beauty.

Another distinguishing feature of Gupta art is its simplicity of style, a felicity of expression by which great ideas take a concrete form in a natural and easy manner. The formal expression and the subjects of art were blended in a characteristic harmony. The outer form and the inner meaning are knit together like body and mind. In the words of Kalidasa this fusion of the inner and the outer patterns was like the coalescence of Thought and Speech, natural and perfect as the union of



Pārvatī and Parameśvara in the ideal form of Ardha-Nārīśvara. The concise formula of "knit like Word and Sense" (*Vagarthāviva-sampriktau*) represents the ideal of harmony and synthesis achieved in this period in many spheres of thought and life, and not the least in the domain of art.

Gupta style earned the status of a truly national art evolved as the result of a synthesis perfected during centuries. It is the strength and the dominant position of this art at home that was the real secret of its inspiring vitality abroad. The honourable position which the Gupta art occupied in India infused it with such power and prestige as enabled it to mould the art traditions of the rest of Asia. Transplanted in new environs beyond the borders of India with its inherent vigour and richness of contents this art brought into being the cultural empire of Greater India whose immortal glories have been unearthed from the waterless deserts of Central Asia and the islands of the East. The convention of fresco painting especially found a congenial home towards Central Asia and China, and was received with enthusiasm by many foreign races which had come under the influence of Buddhism and which looked for inspiration to India in the matter of culture, religion and literature.



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG. 1.—Part of a lintel showing a happy Janapada view in the Gupta period. The party consists of ten female figures engaged in dance and music. Except the dancing figure in the foreground all are seated on stuffed round cushions (*masūraka*). In the first row the woman on the left is playing on a guitar and that in the right a harp (*viṇā*). In the second row the woman on the left is blowing a flute (*vaṁśī*) and that on the right is beating a little drum placed in her lap. In the Amarakośa reference is found to three kinds of *mṛdaṅgas*, viz., (1) *Aṅkya*, (2) *Ālīṅgya* and (3) *Urdhvaka*. The small drum placed in the lap seems to be an *Aṅkya*. In the last row are five female figures. The one on the extreme left is only partly preserved. The next one is playing on cylindrical tom-toms having tapering ends and placed upright. These appear to be the *Urdhvaka* kind of *mṛdaṅga*. The third and the fourth figures are ringing cymbals (*kāṁśyatāla*). The woman on extreme left is holding a lotus flower (लीलाकमल); she appears to be the principal figure who is being entertained. In the words of Bāṇa the concert represents वीणा-वेणु-मुरज मनाहर अन्तःपुरसंगीतक. The styles of hair dressing are varied and gorgeous. [Page 101.]

FIG. 2.—Panel from the Brahmanical Dasavatara temple at Devagarh. Nanda and Yaśodā are standing in their domestic retreat with four cows in the background, two seated and two standing. Nanda is holding Balarāma and Yaśodā is holding Krishna in her lap. Yaśodā is distinguished by her village costume consisting of a scarf on the head (*orhni*), a long tunic (*choli*) and a petticoat (*lanhga*). This panel still stands in situ as part of the original plinth round the temple. [Page 104.]

FIG. 3.—Panel from Devagarh showing the *Sakata-līlā* of Krishna. In the foreground child Krishna is lying on a *chauki* with the upper half of his body raised a little. With his left foot he is kicking a little cart on which three jars have toppled over. In front stands the bewildered mother Yaśodā with her right hand placed on the chin. The representation of Krishna episode among Devagarh sculptures is a new discovery and this panel provided the first clue to it. [Page 104.]

FIG. 4.—Panel from Devagarh showing the redemption of Ahilyā (*Ahilyā-uddhāra*). Sage Viśvāmītra and Rāma are seated and Lakshmana is standing at the back. All are beaming with happiness at the miraculous revivifying of Ahilyā who is also shown in a mood of ecstasy. She is offering a flower to Rāma who blesses her on the head with his right hand. The conventionalised trees shown in the background indicate that the scene is laid in a forest. [Page 104.]

FIG. 5.—Ekamūkhī Sivaliṅga. This style of Sivaliṅga was one of the special features of Gupta iconography. This specimen from the Siva temple at Khoh in the Nagod State of Central India is an excellent specimen showing the best spiritual traditions of Gupta art. Now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. [Page 106.]



FIG. 6.—Mahāvarāha shown in the act of uplifting the goddess Earth from the ocean. It is carved in rock at Udaigiri near Bhelsa in Gwalior State. The adjoining cave has an inscription of the time of Chandragupta II dated in 401-2 A.D. and the Varāha sculpture most likely dates from about the same time. Goddess Prīthivī is supported on the right tusk of the boar. There are four rows of figures in front representing gods and sages. Mahāvarāha is standing with his left foot on the cosmic serpent Ananta which provided support to all the actors in the drama during the great upheaval. [Page 107.]

FIG. 7.—Birth of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The scenes carved on the two sides of the colossal Varāha at Udaigiri show the descent of Gaṅgā and Yamunā from the heavens and their flowing to the sea. This outline drawing is based on the relief carved on the left side of Varāha. In the upper part the celestial regions are represented by a flying Deva and Apsaras dancing and playing on musical instruments. On each side a river is portrayed by undulating lines descending from above. On leaving the heavens, the two streams are seen in a personified form as by two female figures, Gaṅgā standing on crocodile and Yamunā on tortoise, which in Indian art are their usually accepted emblems. The two rivers then join together and enter the sea where they are received by the God of Ocean, which is represented as a male figure standing in the water above his knees, and holding a water vessel in his hands. The composition on the right side of the niche is similar to this, but the heavens are represented by the Devas alone, the Apsaras being omitted. (Cunningham, *A.S.R.* VI. X, p. 48). This is one of the very few charming symbolical representations in ancient Indian art in which geography and mythology are blended in a happy and intelligent manner. [Page 107.]

FIG. 8.—A standing image of four-armed Vishṇu of the Mathura school. (Mathura Museum E6). The stump of the left arm still shows the bifurcation at the elbow. The figure shows many typical features of ornamentation and drapery of the Gupta sculpture as explained in the text. [Page 108.]

FIG. 9.—A marble image of Sūrya with his two attendants, seated on a chariot drawn by two horses. The full-boots, the round apron-like tunic and the general decoration point to the image being carved under Sassanian influence. M. Hackin found it from the Sun temple at Khair Khaneh, about 16 miles north-west of Kabul in 1934. (See, *Recherches Archéologiques Au Col De Khair Khaneh*, and also the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. III, pp. 23—35). [Page 110.]

FIG. 10.—A terracotta plaque found from the bed of the river Yamunā in 1938, now deposited in the Mathura Museum (No. 2795). This plaque represents a scene showing a woman pulling a scarf drawn round the neck of a male figure who on the basis of his quaint cap may be identified as a jestor (*Vidūshaka*). It was one of the palace amusements (अन्तःपुरिका विनोद) in which the inmates of the harem took part together with such male attendants as the jestor, old chamberlain (*vridha kañchuki*) and the dwarfs, etc. A reference to this pastime is found in Bāṇa's *Kādam-*



barī in the description of the palace festivities at the time of the birth of prince Chandrāpīda. The panel has been fully described by me in a paper entitled 'A Palace-amusement Scene on a Terracotta panel from Mathura' (Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art, 1942, Vol. X, pp. 69—73). [Page 111.]

FIG. 11.—Terracotta plaque from Rajghat (now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares) showing a lady seated on a swing under an Aśoka tree (अशोकदोल). The swinging lady is very similar to the figure of the lady Irandatī in the Ajanta paintings. [Page 114.]

FIG. 12.—Terracotta female head with hair arranged in spiral curls known as *alakāvalī* style. [Page 114.]

FIG. 13.—Terracotta male head from Rajghat showing hair arranged in frizzled curls falling on two sides of the head, known as the *alaka* style of hair. [Page 114.]

FIG. 14.—Terracotta female head from Rajghat showing hair arranged in sweeping curls like peacock's feathers on either side of the central parting, a specimen of *barha-bhāra* coiffure. [Page 114.]

FIG. 15.—Terracotta female head showing hair similar to No. 14. [Page 114.]

FIG. 16.—Outline drawings of Gupta bowls from Ahichchhatra, Dt. Bareilly. No. 5 shows a band with conch and lotus motif. The bowls are now deposited in the C.A.A. Museum, New Delhi. [Page 115.]

FIG. 17.—Sculptured panel (*Rathikā-bimba*) fixed in the Gupta temple at Devagarh showing the sages Nara-Nārāyaṇa in their hermitage at Badarīnātha in the Himalayas. On right is four-armed Nārāyaṇa and on left two armed Nara. In the lintel above is four-faced Brahmā seated on lotus between two pairs of flying celestials. On the proper right jamb is Gaja-Lakshmī. There are two vertical bands on the jambs showing conch with a stylised scroll and a lotus garland on both sides. [Page 116.]

FIG. 18.—Sculptured panel from Devagarh as above showing Vishṇu resting on the cosmic serpent Ananta Śeṣha. Lakshmī is shampooing his right leg. Above, a row of divinities including Kārttikeya on peacock, Indra on elephant, Brahmā on lotus and Śiva-Pāravatī on Nandī. Below, a row of five male warriors and a female figure, identified as the five Pāṇḍava brothers with Draupadi. [Page 116.]

FIG. 19.—Panel as above, showing Gajendra-moksha. Vishṇu on Garuḍa is rescuing the lord of elephants from the clutches of a Naga. [Page 116.]

FIG. 20.—Buddha image of the Sarnath school of Gupta sculpture shown in the attitude of preaching (*Vyākhyāna mudrā*) seated in *padmāsana* on a *chauki* with a high back. The elaborate halo is carved with foliated scroll work. The two *makara* heads in the corners between the halo and the back of the seat make up the *makarikā* design, and the two rampant leogryphs form the *Vyālaka toraṇa* design. [Page 117.]



FIG. 21.—Standing Buddha image of the Mathura school of Gupta sculpture. Dedicated by the pious monk Yaśadinna 'for the attainment of the highest wisdom' (अनुत्तर ज्ञानवाप्ति) an ideal repeatedly mentioned in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature and the same as सम्यक् संबोधि [Page 117.]

FIG. 22.—Lintel from Gadhwa, now in the Lucknow Museum, depicting a scene from the Mahābhārata, viz., the fight between Bhīma and Jarāsaṁdhā in the presence of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna. In the background are the ladies of Jarāsaṁdhā's household. [Page 119.]

FIG. 23.—An outline drawing of a motif on a pillar in the Gadhwa temple, Dt. Allahabad, showing the Kalpa-latā or the Wish-fulfilling creeper with maidens springing from its tendrils. An ideal conception referred to in the Jātakas (Vol. IV, p. 352), Rāmāyaṇa (Kishkindhā, 43. 48), Mahābhārata (Bhīshama Parva, VII, 9) and the Purāṇas, (Vāyupurāṇa, 45, 12—50). The Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa speaks of the divine damsels as fruits from trees in the garden of Kubera (दिव्यनारीफलम्) (See my article, 'Kalpavṛkṣai: The Wish fulfilling Tree' in the Journal of the India Society of Oriental Art 1943, pp. 1—8).

The full pillar is illustrated in Cunningham, A.S.R. Vol. X, Plate VI; Codrington, *Ancient India*, Plate 303). [Page 119.]

FIG. 24.—An outline drawing of a jamb from the doorway of the Devagarh temple. It illustrates the deep cut foliated scroll work called *Patralatā*. The creeper issues from the navel of a squatting Yaksha figure. The narrower band consists of a series of smaller rosettes called *phullāvalī* (फुल्लवली) [Page 119.]

FIG. 25.—Doorway of the Gupta Temple at Devagarh. A fuller description of the decoration on the jambs and the lintel is given in the text. In the right upper corner is the figure of Gaṅgā and in the left that of Yamunā. The introduction of the river goddesses on the doorways of temples was a feature introduced for the first time in Gupta art. [Page 123.]

FIG. 26.—Outline drawing of a royal pavilion called *Āsthāna-maṇḍapa*. From a painting at Ajanta. The structure corresponds to the description given by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the Kādambarī and the several terms are explained in the text. The cylinder posts bear the appropriate name *maṇḍaṇḍikā*. [Page 124.]

FIG. 27.—Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara painted in Cave I at Ajanta. It is one of the best specimens of Indian paintings, illustrating the finest tradition of Gupta pictorial art. The Bodhisattva is wearing a single pearl string woven with a central bead of sapphire (मध्येन्द्रनील एकावली) The rendering of the two eyebrows with a continuous stroke was also a noteworthy feature of Gupta art, referred to as युग्मभ्रू i.e., the unified eyebrows. [Page 128.]

FIG. 28.—Outline drawing of a dancing Apsarā from Sittannavasal cave painting. She is portrayed in one of her most charming poses (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1930, Plate VI). [Page 130.]



PLATE I

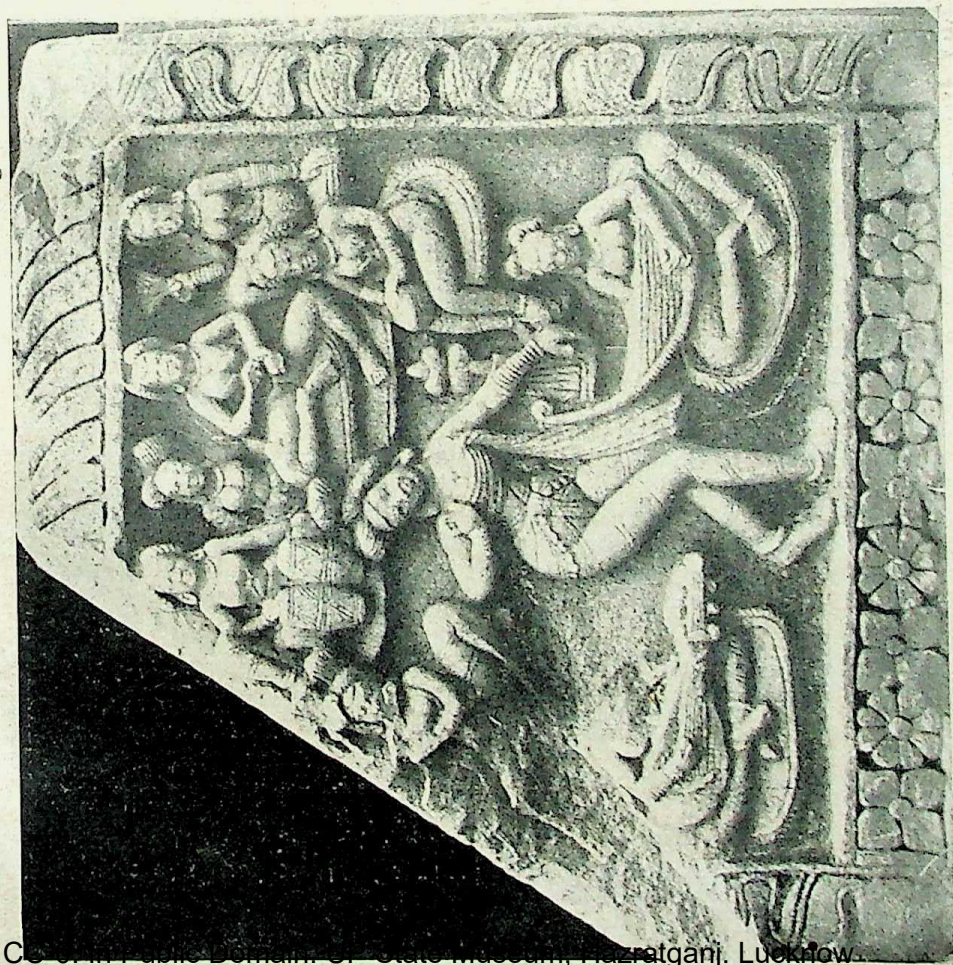


Fig. 1.—Life made happy with dance and music Lintel from  
Pawaya, Gwalior State. अस्त:३३ ई०



Fig. 2.—Nanda-Yasoda with Balarāma and Kṛishṇa from Devagharh.



PLATE II

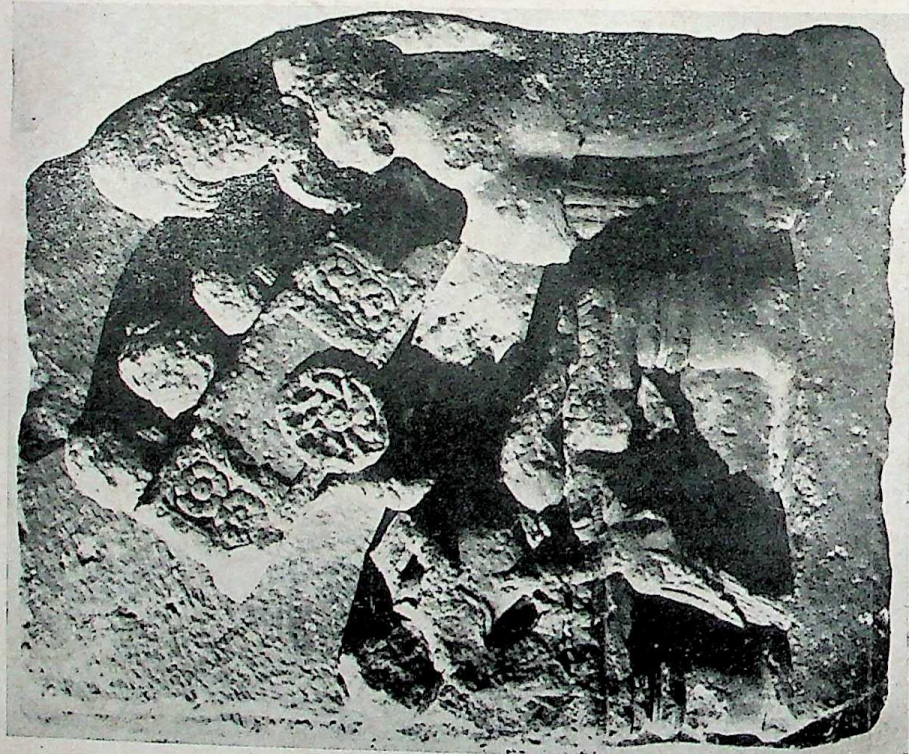


Fig. 3. — Krishna's Śakata-lila from Devagarh.



Fig. 4. — Revivifying of Ahalyā by Rāma Devagarh.



PLATE III



Fig. 5. Ekamukhi Śivalinga from Khoh.



PLATE IV

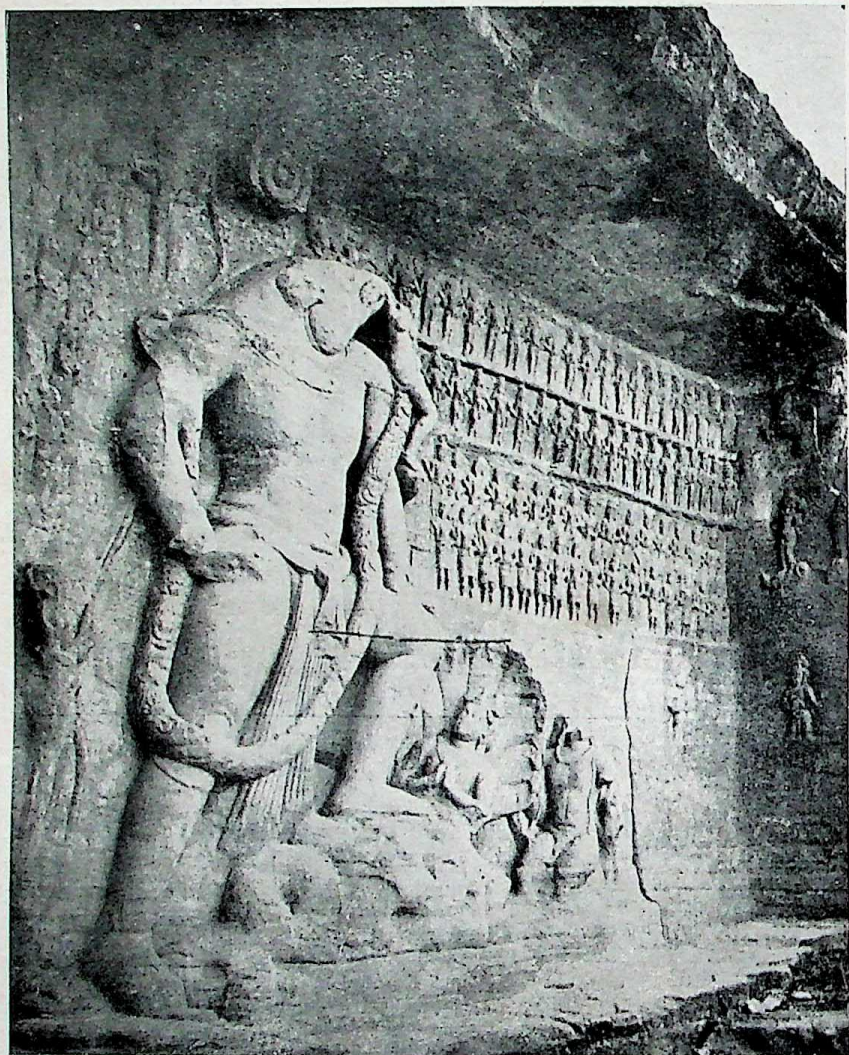


Fig. 6.—Colossal Varāha uplifting the Earth from the ocean. Udaigiri.



PLATE V

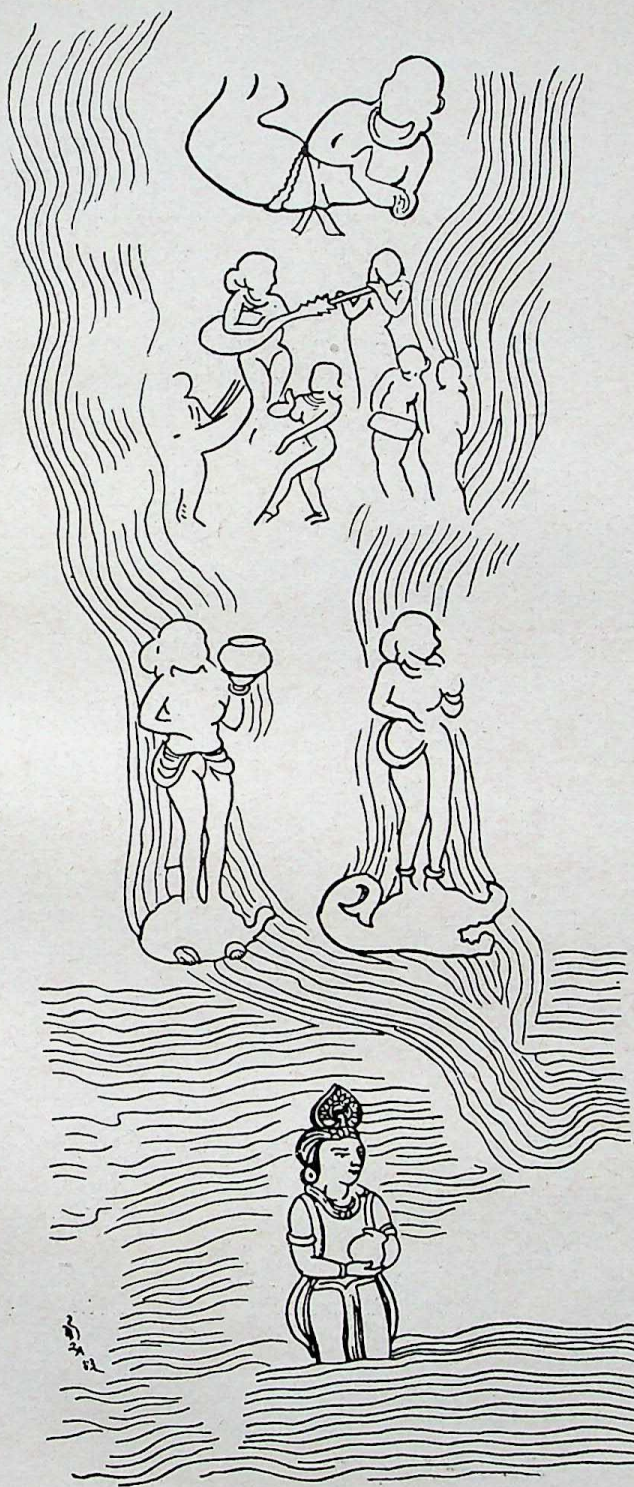


Fig. 7.—Birth of Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Udaigiri).



PLATE VI



Fig. 8 —Vishnu Image from Mathura.



PLATE VII

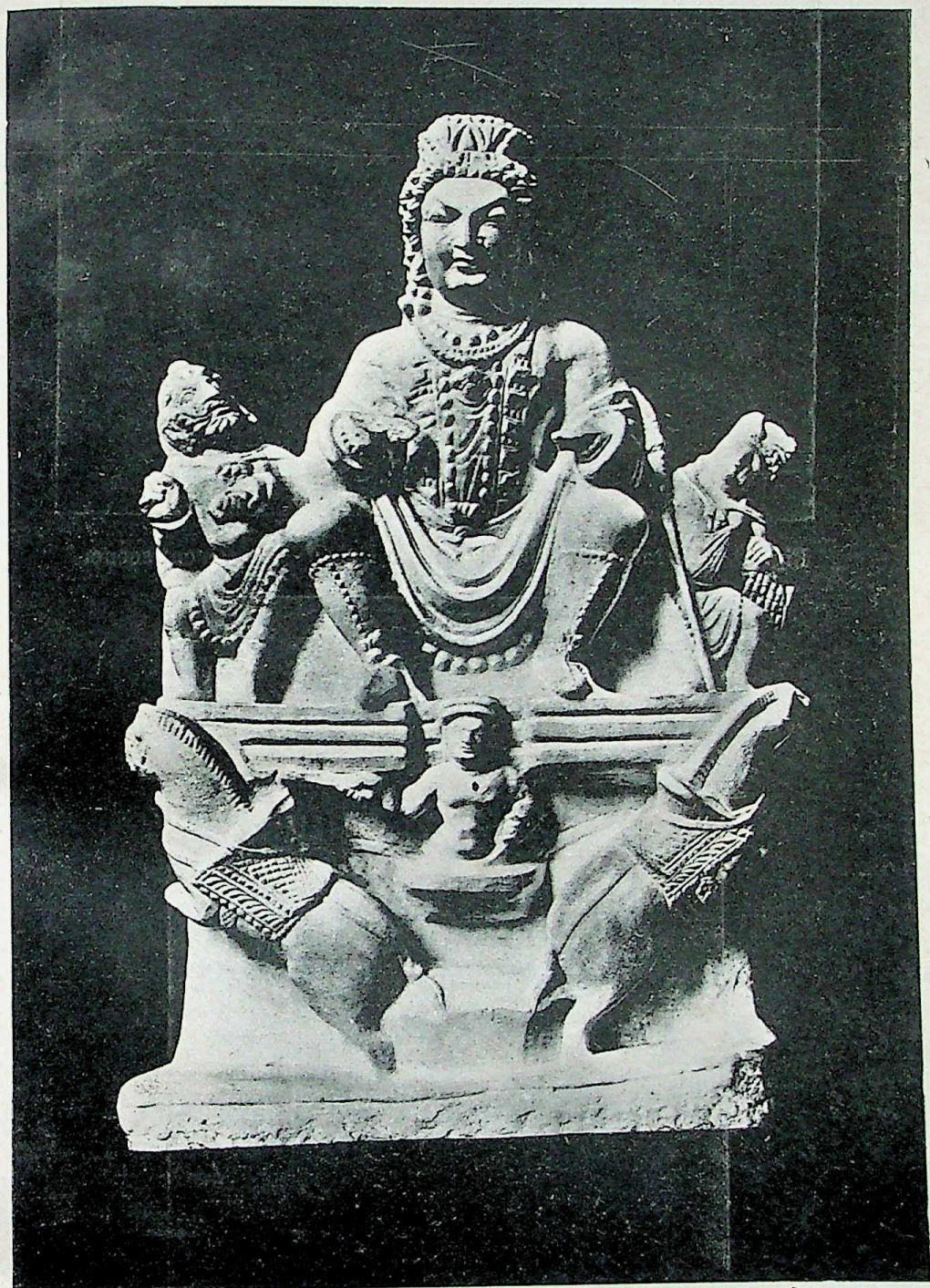


Fig. 9.—Marble image of Sūrya on his chariot from Khair-Khaneh, near Kabul.



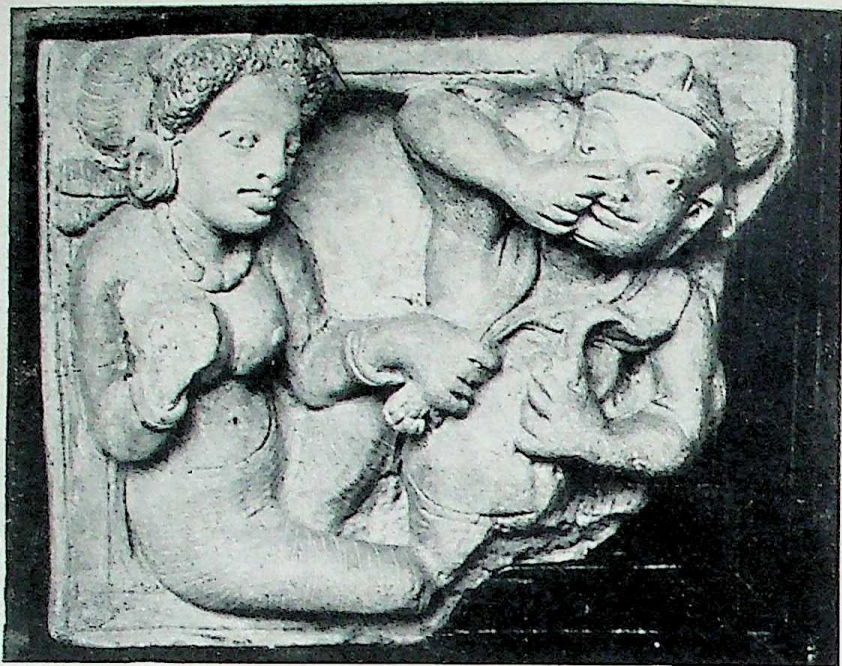


Fig. 10.—Terracotta plaque showing a Palace-Amusement scene.



CC-0. In Public Domain, UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow  
Fig. 11.—Plaque showing a lady on a swing.



Fig. 14.

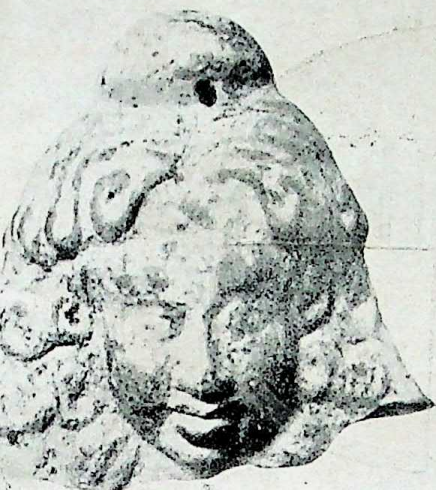


Fig. 13.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 15



PLATE X

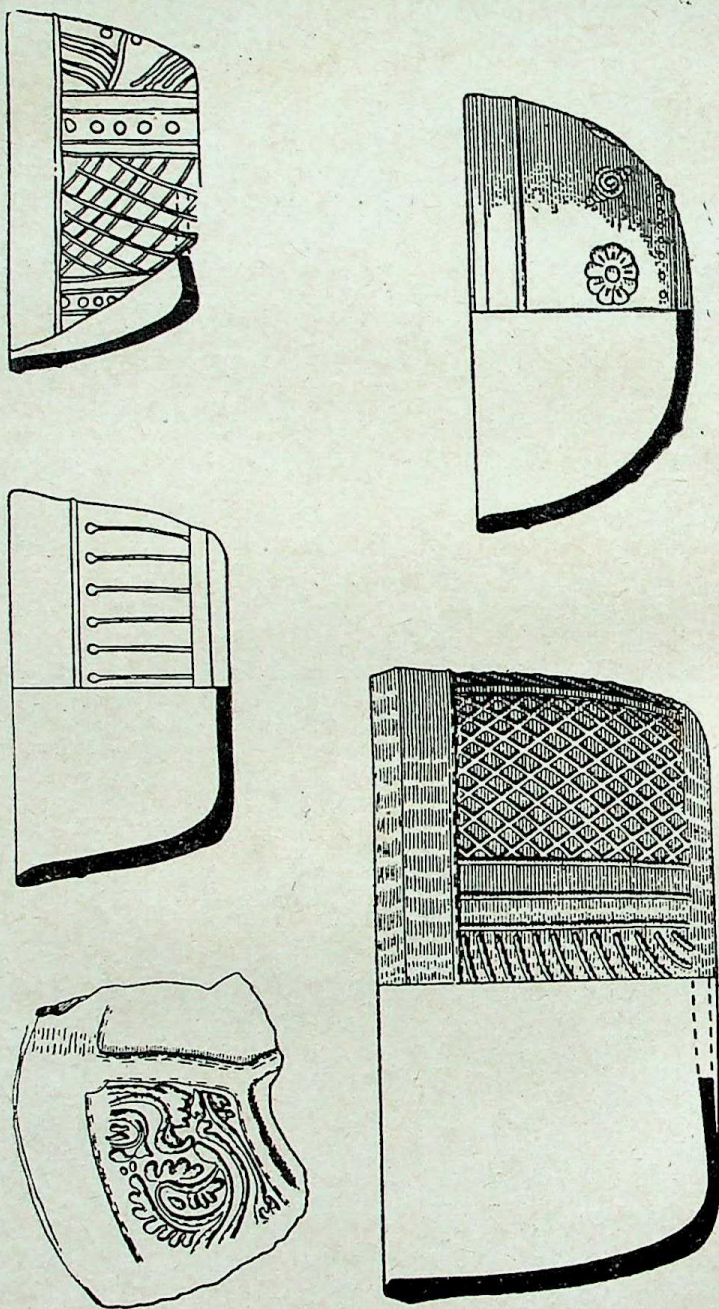


Fig. 16. — Gupta pottery bowls from Ahichchhatra (Barielly District).



of these. The last types to be defined by him are the Bhāṇa and Vīthī. The Bhāṇa is a Rūpaka in which only one chapter appears and carries on an imaginary dialogue through Ākāśa-bhāṣita. It is a monologue, narrated by one actor, though its theme is full of various characters. Says Bharata :

विविधाश्रयो हि भाणः विज्ञेयस्त्वेकहार्यश्च । XX. 112.

The Vīthī had two varieties, one which was surely earlier and was closely related to the Bhāṇa, in which only one character appeared and gave the audience only a monologue; and another variety, surely later, in which there was dialogue and two persons impersonated.

वीथी स्यादेकांका द्विपात्रहार्या तथैकहार्या वा । XX. 116

रसैर्भावैश्च सकलैः युक्ता वीथी प्रकीर्तिता ।

एकहार्या द्विहार्या वा कर्तव्या कविभिस्सदा ॥ XX. 135.

The original and earlier Vīthī, or the more common Vīthī was 'Eka Hārya'. Thus Bharata ends his description of the dramatic varieties with the description of the less perfect types of the nature of monologues like the Bhāṇa and the Vīthī. Akin to these two is the entertainment called the Lāsyā which is also done by one individual. It is *similar to Bhāṇa*, in that it is done by one person. So says Bharata—

भाण इव एकप्रयोज्यानि । भाणाकृतिवत्तास्यम् । XX. 136.

And not that the Lāsyā with its Angas forms the special feature characterising the Bhāṇa as distinguished from other types. It is a misunderstanding of this fact that Bharata does nothing more than compare the Lāsyā to the Bhāṇa, calling it also 'Eka hārya' like the Bhāṇa, which is responsible for later writers giving the Lāsyā as forming a characteristic part of Bhāṇa among the Rūpakas. As a matter of fact, Bharata expressly says that the independent Lāsyā or its Aṅgas appear in the Nāṭaka. The Vīthī enters into the Prahāsana;

उद्गात्यकादिभिरिदं (प्रहसनं) वीथ्यङ्गैर्मिश्रितं भवेन्मिश्रम् ।



the Prahāsana and the Vithī enter the first of the three parts of the Samavakāra :

अंकस्तु सप्रहसनः XX. 68.

अंकोऽस्तु सप्रहसनः सकपटः सवीर्यगः । XX. 70.

So also there is ample possibility of a one kind of dramatic form-comic, pathetic, etc., entering another.\* In the same manner, the Lāsyā with its Aṅgas appear in the Nāṭaka also. Says Bharata

अन्यानि च लास्यविधावंगानि तु नाटके प्रयुक्तानि । XX. 136.

Therefore, there is no warrant or meaning in stating that Lāsyā pertains to Bhāṇa. Bhāṇa is only a monologue and only narrates or describes but never shows action with various actors and hence cannot show the ten kinds of Lāsyā. Nor can Vithī, monologue or dialogue, embrace the Lāsyā also. But Śāradātanaya quotes Kohala, and this needs confirmation before we accept it as Kohala's view, to say that Lāsyāṅgas may or may not appear in a Vithī (p. 251). He himself defines that the Lāsyāṅgas should be present in the Vithī! So also, the Prahāsana cannot have the Lāsyā and its Aṅgas. For these two are satirical and comical. In the sublime types of Nāṭaka, Śuddha prakaraṇa, Nāṭikā, Toṭaka and Saṭṭaka, the Lāsyā can appear. It does appear. It cannot also appear in the Samavakāra, Ihāmṛga, Dima and the Vyāyoga. There are heroic and relate to Vīra rasa and fights; Lāsyā is related to love, Śṛṅgāra rasa and the softer aspects. The Aṅka or the Utsrṣṭikāṅka which is an one-act Karuṇa-piece and a sequel of weeping following a calamity of war, etc., can have no place for the Lāsyā in it. Those Uparūpakas in which one dancer appears, sings and renders through gestures a phase of the emotion of love are forms of Lāsyā. The Nautch which has not died out, in South India, is a typical example of Lāsyā.

\* See the writer's Daśarūpaka, JOR. Madras, VII, pp. 277—290.



Bharata also says that the emotional theme in the Lāśya is completely an imaginative creation of the poet. It is in this respect that he says it is similar to the Prakaraṇa, a play with a created story,—Utpādyā vastu.

प्रकरणवद् ऊह्यकार्यं (व्यं) etc. XX. 137.

Abhinavagupta, commenting on this passage, first strains the words in Utpādyā vastu to mean the Dhvani theory but he gives in the end our meaning also.

“ऊह्यवस्तु स्वशब्दानभिहितव्यंग्योऽर्थः ।” XXX

“वस्तु चोत्पाद्यवस्तु इति वा ।”

P. 175. Tātādhyāya. Volme. IV. Madras MS. Bhoja understands Bharata correctly and does not make the mistake of the Daśarūpaka that Lāśyāṅgas refer to the Bhāṇa only. Bhoja reproduces Bharata XX. 112 and 114, emphasising *Eka pātra hāryatava*. P. 420, Vol II. Śr. Pra. Madras MS. In chapter XIII also, where he mentions the ten Lāśyāṅgas, he does not mention them as pertaining solely to the Bhāṇa, but as one of the set of items pertaining to drama in general and Nāṭaka in particular, even as the Sandhyaṅgas, Lakṣaṇas, Vṛttis Vṛt-tyaṅgas, etc. And he illustrates the ten Lāśyāṅgas, not from any Bhāṇa, but from the Nāṭaka and the Nāṭikā.

Bhoja enumerates and illustrates the ten Lāśyāṅgas in chapter XII. in the following manner :

1. Geyapada. Act. I. Nāgānanda, Malayavatī singing to the accompaniment of Vīṇā.

2. Sthita pāṭhya. Act. II. Ratnāvalī, Sāgarikā's words expressing her longing and lovelornness. (Prākṛt).

3. Āsīna. Male. Act III. Ratnāvalī; enter king *seat*; ed and says सन्तापो हृदय etc. Expression of the mood of a longing lover wishing to attain his object.

4. Puṣpagaṇḍikā. Act. II. Ratnāvalī.

5. Pracchedaka. This is illustrated from a lost dramatic composition, perhaps an Uparūpaka, called Rādhāvipralambha Rāsakāṅka.

6. Trimūḍhaka. Act. II. Ratnāvalī.



7. Saindhava. Act. II. Ratnāvalī.
8. Dvimūdhaka. Act. II. Ratnāvalī.
9. Uttamottamaka. Act. III. Ratnāvalī.
10. Uktapratyukta. Act. III. Ratnāvalī.

That Lāsyā appears in other Nātikās also can be seen from the fact that Lāsyā forms a vital part of the theme of Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra. Viśvanātha, author of the Sāhityadarpaṇa does not err; he places the Lāsyāṅgas along with the Sandhyaṅgas, Lakṣaṇas, etc., and illustrates them from the Nāgānanda and the Mālatīmādhava. (P. 88, Kane's Edn. Also pp. 97-98.) Viśvanātha illustrates from a Nāṭaka and a Prakaraṇa. Therefore it is wrong when Śāradatanaya gives the description of Bhāṇa, reproduced from Dhanañjaya and adds to it under the name of Kohala and others a similar description in both of which it is said that the ten Lāsyāṅgas pertain to the Bhāṇa and in the end concludes that Bhoja also defines the Bhāṇa in this manner.

भाणस्य लक्षणं चेदृक् भोजेनापि प्रकाशितम्। Page 245 *Bhā. Pna.*

As we have shown above, Bhoja does not do so. It is not possible, as we have seen above, to introduce the Lāsyāṅgas in the Bhāṇa or the Prahasana; and therefore the Avaloka which extends this feature wrongly attributed to the Bhāṇa, by itself and the Daśarūpaka to the Prahasana also is not very happy in its observation.

तद्वत् (भाणवत्) प्रहसनम्। D. R. III. 54.

तद्वदिति-भाणवत् वस्तुसन्धिसन्ध्यगलास्यादीनामतिदेशः। Avaloka.

It is also doubtful if by 'Tadvat', Dhanañjaya meant that the Prahasana completely agreed with the Bhāṇa and had the Lāsyāṅgas also. I think, he meant the similarity only so far as the low love theme, Dhūrta carita, Viṭasa-māgama, etc., and predominance of speech (Bhāratī vṛtti).

This point is discussed here at such length, though scholars may not realise its importance, because of the fact that on this subject, many writers have mistaken the text of Bharata and have considered the Lāsyāṅgas as



the characterising features of Bhāṇa. Besides old writers, modern scholars have also mistaken. Dr. S. K. De, in an article on the Bhāṇa in the JRAS. for 1926, mistakes that in XVIII. 169 (K.M. Edn.) "Bharata lays down the technical requirements that in a Bhāṇa the elements of the Lāśya, (a kind of dance) are specially appropriate" (P. 66.) This is as wrong as his other statement on the same page that Bharata excludes the Kaiśikī vṛtti from the Bhāṇa in XVII, 8-9. He again says: "While the elements of Lāśya are in place in it (Bhāṇa), the Kaiśikī vṛtti, the graceful style which gives scope to love and gallantry, is out of place." Again: "The requirement regarding Lāśya as Sten Konow thinks, probably emphasises its popular origin and development from a primitive mimetic performance but little trace of it remains in the extant Bhāṇas, and it may be taken as a survival in theory of what was probably once its peculiar feature in practice." He again says that it is important to note that Bharata distinctly forbids the Kaiśikī vṛtti which is eminently suited to an erotic play.

Who was the first writer responsible for pinning the Lāśyāṅgas with the Bhāṇa? We may guess from Śārādātanaya's description of the Bhāṇa in which Kohala's description is reproduced, that Kohala is responsible for it. If at all it is possible to add the Lāśyāṅgas to the Bhāṇa, it cannot be as part of the play itself, but it can be part of the Pūrvaraṅga. As can be seen in a further section, Abhinvagupta says that the Samavakāra and other Uddhata or Āviddha dramas have an Uddhata or Tāṇḍava Pūrvaraṅga and the Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Bhāṇa, etc., which deal with Śṛṅgāra and are thus of the Sukumāra class, have a Sukumāra or Lāśya Pūrvaraṅga. In a similar manner, the Lāśya can appear as a part of the Pūrvaraṅga of the Prahasana also. But, if the Avaloka means that Lāśyāṅgas appear in the body of the Prahasana it is as mistaken here as in considering the Lāśyāṅgas as forming part of the body of the Bhāṇa.



The Abhinavabhārati, though it has valuable material to shape our ideas on the Lāśya, is yet very confusing. According to Abhinavagupta's text, the Daśarūpaka chapter ends with the description of the Vithī. The description of the Lāśya and its Aṅgas and the general remarks on Nāṭya and Rūpaka which follow are according to his text, found at the end of the next chapter which deals with the Sandhis and the Sandhyaṅgas. As will be seen in a further section also, Abhinavagupta considers Lāśya as a separate form of dance of the graceful type connected with Pārvatī, which, with its ten forms, is part of the Pūrvaraṅga of the Sukumāra variety of dramas. This he explains at length in his commentary on the Tālādhyāya where also Bharata describes the Lāśya. In the commentary on the text of Bharata on Lāśya in the section on drama अन्यान्यपि लास्यविधावंगानि Abhinavagupta adopts a strange view. He says definitely that the Lāśyāṅgas form part of Nāṭaka which he says stands to signify all other kinds of drama. He does not mistake that Lāśyāṅgas pertain only to the Bhāṇa.

अधुना यस्याः प्रसादेन शास्त्रेतिहासादिभ्यः.....सर्वजनआदरणीयत्वं  
.....यां (कैशिकीम्) उद्दिश्य प्रथमेऽध्याये 'कैशिकीमपि योजय' 'तस्याः क्षमं द्रव्य'  
इत्यादि बहुतरमुक्तं, तदाविर्भावकानि अत एव आत्मभूतरसभावभागाभिनिवेशशालीन्येव  
लास्यांगान्यपि कविप्रयोक्तृभिरभिनेतव्यकाव्यविषये सर्वथैव योज्यानि इति दर्शयितु-  
माह—अन्यानि च लास्यविधावंगानि इत्यादि । नाटकमित्यभिनेयमात्रम् ।

Pp. 531-2 Vol. II. *Abhi. Bhā.* Madras MS. The chief factor which distinguishes drama is its entertainment aspect, its Kaiśikī vṛtti, the female characters, songs, the dances, and the Śṛṅgāra rasa. The situations which embody this Kaiśikī Vṛtti are to be seen in Nāṭaka and other dramas. The situations pertain to the world, that is, they are Laukika, but are separately taken up to create the dance called the Lāśya. Abhinavagupta points out that those writers who illustrate the Lāśyāṅgas, as such, from Nāṭakas and Nāṭikās, as for instance, the Geyapada from the Nāgānanda, are mistaken. The point which Abhinavagupta is driving at is not clear at all,



appears too fine and only theoretical. In this section he criticises Śaṅkuka and Priyātithi. Abhinavagupta considers the Lasyangas as pertaining to music also.

“नाटकमिति अभिनेयमात्रम् । इतः परम् आ अध्यायान्तः (न्तम्) उक्तेभ्यो अंगेभ्यो (सन्ध्यंगेभ्यो) ज्यान्यंगानि लास्यविधौ या (नि) वक्ष्यन्ते, तानि गीतोपयोगी-  
न्यपि भवन्ति ।” *Abhi. Bha.* Vol. II. p. 532.

Bharata's text, by itself, makes the matter sufficiently clear. Bharata describes the Lāśya as done by one individual like the Bhāṇa भाण इव एकहार्य, as applicable to and derivable from the Nāṭaka नाटकेप्रयुक्त and नाटकाद्विनिस्सृत, similar to Prakaraṇa in that its theme is the poet's creation. प्रकरणवद् ऊह्यकाव्यः It has been explained by me in the paper on Daśarūpaka<sup>2</sup> how derivative dramatic types are created. The point was illustrated from analogical growths in the realm of Śravya kāvya. As for instance, a feature of a Mahākāvya called the description of the seasons becomes a separate Kāvya like the Rtusambhāra and a feature like Hanuman's Dautya in the Rāmāyaṇa inspires the creation of the type of Dūta or Sandeśa kāvya like the Meghasandeśa of Kālidāsa. It was explained that in a similar manner all other dramatic types can be found in the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa, the two perfect types, the two Pūrṇavṛtti rūpakas. Just as the Nāṭikā is created, so also a type of stage performance, done by one like the Bhāṇa, was created out of Nāṭaka. Ten kinds of situations appearing in love dramas were selected and these were worked out into a programme. A dancer sang, danced and rendered these ten emotional themes in gesture and this came to be called the Lāśya. Therefore, situations corresponding to the Lāśyāṅgas cannot but be seen in the Nāṭakas, Nāṭikās, etc. This is the significance of Bharata saying of Lāśya

अन्यानि च लास्यविधावंगानि तु नाटके प्रयुक्तानि ।

अस्माद्विनिस्सृतानि तु भाण इवैकप्रयोज्यानि ॥

भाणाकृतिवल्लास्यं विज्ञेयं त्वेकपात्रहार्यं च ।

प्रकरणवद्दुह्यकाव्यं संस्तव युक्तं ? विविधभवं ज्ञेयम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> *JOR.* Madras. VII, p. 289.



“The Angas which form the Lāsyā are seen in the Nāṭaka and are as a matter of fact, derived or ‘secreted’ out of the Nāṭaka. These are strung together and played by one; the theme is, as in Prakaraṇa, purely the poet’s imaginative creation.” The Tālādhyāya (XXXI. Kasi Edn., p. 378) describes at great length the performance of Lāsyā. There, Bharata says :

लास्यमित्येव यत्पूर्वं मया वः परिकीर्तितम् ।

लक्षणं तस्य वक्ष्यामि प्रयोगं च यथाक्रमम् ॥

लसनाल्लासमित्युक्तं स्त्रीपुंभावसमाश्रयम् ।

भाणवच्चैकहास्य(यं) स्यात् रुह (ऊह्य) वस्तु च तद्भवेत् ।

एकार्थं पृथग्दर्शं वा तदंगेषु प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ XXXI. 476-8.

If this is the real nature of Lāsyā, we must recognise that the ten aspects of it given as its ten Angas do not constitute the only possible aspects or that one cannot string together other kinds of details into Lāsyā programme. When Bharata codified, there appeared to have been some practical example of Lāsyā with ten Angas. Lāsyā, every writer considers as having only ten Angas. Bhoja also gives only ten Angas for it. In XXXI, the Tālādhyāya, where it is that Bharata describes elaborately how to perform a Lāsyā, there is definite statement that the Lāsyā consists of only ten items.

अंगानि दश चैवास्य तेषां वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ।

× × × ×

लास्ये दशविधं ह्येतत् अंगनिर्देशलक्षणम् ॥ XXX. 479-481.

अंगान्येतानि लास्ये स्युः दशोक्तानि समासतः । XXXI. 484.

The ten Angas are, Geyapada, Sthitapāṭhya, Āsīna, Puṣpagandī-(dhi)kā, Pracchadaka, Trimūḍhaka, Saindhava, Dvimūḍhaka, Uttamottamaka, Vicitrapada and Uktapratyuktabhāva. Thus, not ten but eleven are enumerated in XXXI. 471—481. But in the subsequent definitions, only ten are defined, Vicitrapada being left out. In the 20th chapter on Daśarūpa, the number is not given and actually 12 Angas are given. Vicitrapada is first enumerated and thus in the enumeration, there are only



eleven. But, in the Lakṣaṇagrantha, the portion defining these Aṅgas, we find a 12th added, viz., Bhāvita or Bhāvika, XX. 138-139 and 192. Abhinavagupta says that some writers hold the opinion that Bharata gave 12 Lāsyāṅgas. Thus there is evidence to suppose that, earlier than Abhinavagupta, the Lāsyāṅgas were increasing, though at some time a stop was put at 12. Abhinavagupta adopts an illogical view, but logical in his own way and justified by himself with an argument, that Lāsyā consists of only 10 Aṅgas and these ten are enough.

अन्ये तु चित्रपदं, भाविकं चेत्यङ्गद्वयमाहुः । पठन्ति च—

यत्र प्रियाकृतिं दृष्ट्वा विनोदयति मानसं ।

मदनानलतप्ताङ्गी तच्चित्रपदं—॥

दृष्ट्वा स्वप्ने प्रियं यत्र मदनानलतापिता ।

करोति विविधान् भावान् तद्वै भाविकम्—॥ इति

तच्चेदमसत् । लास्यं दशविधमित्यत्रत्येन ग्रन्थेन 'दशाङ्गं लास्यं' इतितालाध्याये पठिष्यमाणेन विरोधात् । न चास्य उपयोगः कश्चित् । तच्च सर्वं (वैचित्र्यं) दशभिरेव संगृहीतं । तदतोऽतिरिक्तो नास्त्येवाङ्ग इति दशैवाङ्गानि ॥

Pp. 510-512. Vol. II. *Abhsi. Bha.*

This passage referred to here by Abhinavagupta is absent in the Kasi Edn. of the N.Ś. which gives eleven Aṅgas in enumeration and twelve in the definition. Abhinavagupta's text agrees with that in the Kāvya-mālā Edn. where this passage is found (XVIII. 171) and only ten Aṅgas are enumerated and defined. The K. M. Edn. has a definition of Sthitapāṭhya in one of the two readings totally different from that in the Kasi Edn., or that taken by Abhinavagupta बहुचारीसमायुक्तं etc., XVIII. 173. In the Tālādhyāya also the K. M. Edn. gives only ten Aṅgas; and the line in the Kasi Edn. which says that in the Prakaraṇa, the Lāsyāṅgas are 12 is absent from it.

Abhinavagupta explains what kind of Vaicitrya in Rasa and Bhāva each Lāsyāṅga stands for and concludes that since all kinds of Vaicitraya derivable from Lāsyā for introduction into Nāṭaka are exhausted by the ten



that since all kinds of Vaicitraya derivable from Lāśya Aṅgas, there are not more than ten. He could have been more reasonable if he had said that the ten Aṅgas, nay, even the eleventh Aṅga Citrapada which appeared in a later stage and the 12th Bhāvika which appeared at a still later stage, are only indicative of the fact that similar Aṅgas can be invented and added by poets.<sup>o</sup> For, Lāśya is Uhyakāśya.

In the Tālādhyāya also, it is said that it is only with reference to the Pūrvaraṅga of a Nāṭaka that the Lāśya is given as having 10 items but in the case of a Prakaraṇa, the Lāśya in the Pūrvaraṅga has 12 Aṅgas.

दशांगं लास्यमित्येतन्मया वः परिकीर्तितम् ।

प्रकरणे द्वादशांगानि तथैव च भवन्ति हि ॥ XXXI. 524 Kasi Edn.

This simply means for the historians that Lāśya was gradually developing more and more. As a matter of fact, many of the Uparūpakas are Lāśya, those that are 'Ekahārya' and involve Abhinaya, as for example, Śrī-gadita. The nautch still surviving amidst us is a Lāśya. The several items on the programme may be internally related as several phases of a same continuous theme or may be different short themes not related to each other, as we find at present in the Nautch. This Bharata himself grants :

एकार्यं पृथगर्थं वा तदंगेषु प्रकीर्तितम् । XXXI 478.

In the Tālādhyāya, this Lāśya is described as forming part of the Pūrvaraṅga; so also at the end of Chapter IV. The description of the Lāśya in the Daśarūpaka chapter is of Lāśya as an independent performance. If however, the description of the Lāśya is taken over to the end of the chapter on Sandhyaṅgas, as Abhinavagupta does, it shows how Lāśya as a manifestation of the Kai-

<sup>o</sup> Saradātanaya (pp. 244—6) considers Bhāṇa as having not only the ten Lāśyaṅgas but also the Nrtta lāśya varieties done by more than one Nartakī, Gulma, Śrīkhalikā, etc. On p. 245, line 14, he says that Lāśya has 10 Aṅgas, and enumerates and defines eleven Aṅgas, including the Bhāvika.



śikī Vṛtti and Śṛṅgāra rasa appears in the various situations in Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, etc. It is in this last aspect that Bhoja defines and illustrates them in the 12th chapter of his Śr. Pra., in the aspect in which they resemble Sandhyaṅgas. In no case can the Lāśya and its Āṅgas be taken as a specific characteristic of the Bhāṇa among the Daśarūpakas.



## THE AMBASHTHA JĀTI

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The word *varṇa* (colour) is found in the oldest literature of the Indo-Aryans to indicate the social and cultural distinction between the Aryans and the non-Aaryans; but the expressions *ārya-varṇa* (the colour of the Aryans) and *dāsa-varṇa* (the colour of the Dāsas) must have originally pointed to the fair complexion of the Aryan newcomers and the dark or brown skin-colour of the aboriginal peoples of India. In later days, the connotation of the term *varṇa* expanded so as to signify the four conventional grades of the Indo-Aryan society in which non-Aryan elements were gradually being absorbed. The units composing the social grades called *varṇa* came to be known as *jāti*; but in later literature this word was also used in the sense of *varṇa* itself. The primary significance of the term *jāti* is birth; but we know that the early *chatur-varṇa* division of the Indo-Aryan society was not strictly dependent on birth. The word *jāti* must therefore have originally indicated tribal groups whose membership depended rigidly on birth. Numerous non-Aryan tribes of different grades of civilization were gradually imbibing, in varying degrees, the culture and blood of the Aryans; but most of them must have still retained their tribal names and also certain social customs and prejudices. These elements of the mixed society of the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples of India had many characteristics dependent on birth and were no doubt *jātis* in the real sense of the term. The incorporation of these tribes in the Indo-Aryan social system seems to have popu-



larised the use of the word *jāti* in the sense of a caste and later also of a *varṇa*.<sup>1</sup>

The formation of castes from tribal groups has taken place not only in the medieval and modern periods,<sup>2</sup> but also in the ancient days. We have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> shown how Manu and other authorities on law were eager to include all Aryan, non-Aryan and foreign tribes and communities of various grades of culture into the theoretical scheme of the *chatur-varṇa*. The attempt was chiefly to represent a tribe or class of non-Aryan or foreign origin, not without reference to their actual position in the Indian society, as originated from an admixture of the blood of two or more of the four conventional *varṇas*. There is general agreement on this arbitrary scheme amongst authorities on law; but in some cases there is difference. The Māhishyas, who apparently derived their name from the land called Mahisha, are not recognised in the *Manu Smṛiti*; but they find a place in the social scheme of later writers like Yājñavalkya. The Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians), who came to India and settled in this country, are regarded by Patañjali, author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, as *anīravasita* (pure) Śūdra; but they are

<sup>1</sup> There is evidence to show that the Aryan invaders often married girls of Dravidian and pre-Dravidian origin. This not only led to the introduction of the cerebral consonants in the Indo-Aryan language even in the early Vedic period; but also lay at the root of the dark complexion of a large number of Aryan males and females especially of the Kshatriya class. The intermediate grades of complexion, caused by an admixture of the original white and dark may have had something to do with the development of the four *varṇas* (colours) from the earlier two. For an interesting paper entitled 'Some Aspects of the Ancient Indian Social Organisation' by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, see *Prabuddha Bhārata*, March, 1944. See also Sircar's Introduction to *Maurya-Yuger Bhāratīyaa Samāj* by Dr. N. C. Banerjee, Calcutta University Press, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Risley, *People of India*, pp. 72—76. Note the cases of the Koch, Bhūmij, Bunā, etc. Note also that the Huns, who were foreigners, were in this way absorbed and became recognised ultimately as one of the thirty-six respectable Rajput clans.

<sup>3</sup> The Andhras and their position in the Brahmanical Society, *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 560—66.



included by Manu in the list of degraded Kshatriyas. Of course, the social position of the 'pure Śūdra' and the 'degraded Kshatriya' appears to have been the same practically.

There was in ancient India a powerful tribe known as the Ambashthas. Whether the Ambashthas were non-Aryan in origin cannot be determined with precision. Their tribal organisation as well as the fact that they are called the 'Ānava Kshatriya' (*i.e.*, descendants of Yayāti's son Anu who became the progenitor of the Mlechchhas as a result of his father's curse) in the Purāṇas probably point to their non-Aryan origin. It should not however be ignored that many Aryan tribes might have had peculiar tribal customs which led to their characterisation as *jātis* like the Aryanised non-Aryan tribal organisations. Little is known about the influence of the non-Aryan social groups on the ancient Indo-Aryan tribes.

The Ambashthas of ancient India are referred to in many works. The *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which has to be assigned to a date not later than c. 500 B.C., mentions an Ambashtha King and his minister whose name was Nārada. According to the Greek and Roman writers, the Ambashtha people lived on the banks of the Chenab in the southern Punjab when Alexander of Macedon invaded northern India (327-325 B.C.). They are called the Ambastanoi; but the name is sometimes found as Sabarkae or Sabargae which may have actually represented an influential branch of the Ambashtha tribe. The Ambashthas, who lived in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C., had a republican form of government and an army consisting of 60,000 foot-soldiers, 6,000 horses and 500 war-chariots. The *Mahābhārata* like the classical writers mentions the Ambashthas along with other tribes of the Punjab such as the Śibis, Kshudrakas and Mālavas. The *Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra* also places the Ambashthas near Kashmīr, the Hūṇa land and Sindh. The Purāṇas associate them with the Śibis and call them 'Ānava Kshatriya'



which appears to indicate a class of degraded Kshatriyas. In a Pali work entitled the *Ambatṭha Sutta*, an Ambashṭha is represented as a Brāhmaṇa. The *Jātakas* however describe the Ambashṭhas as agriculturists. According to Manu, who prescribes for the Ambashṭha people the profession of the physician, the tribe originated from a union of the Brāhmaṇa male and the Vaiśya female. These facts have led scholars to suggest that the Ambashṭhas were originally a tribe of warriors, but that they later adopted various professions such as that of the priest, cultivator, physician and others.<sup>4</sup>

As has already been pointed out, the place of a tribe in the arbitrary social scheme of the authorities on law depended considerably on its actual position in the society. The profession of the physician, prescribed for the Ambashṭhas by Manu, would suggest that at least a large section of the people led the life of a medicine man.<sup>4a</sup> It is however unknown whether the Ambashṭhas of the *Manu Smṛiti* lived in the Punjab or elsewhere. The Geography of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) as well as the *Bṛihat Samhita* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* speaks of an old Ambashṭha settlement near the Mekala country about the present Maikal range in eastern India. It is interesting to note that a section of the Kāyastha community of Bihar is known as the Ambashṭha Kāyastha. According to certain traditions, whose authenticity will be discussed in the Appendix, the Vaidyas representing the physician caste of Bengal as well as the Māhishyas (*i.e.*, the agriculturist section of the Kaivarta caste which has recently adopted an ancient tribal name as its caste designation) are also the same as the Ambashṭhas of ancient India. Whatever be the historical value of the traditions regarding the Ambashṭhas in Bengal, it seems that

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1938, pp. 206-07.

<sup>4a</sup> Cf. the case of the people of the Kingdom of Mousikanas (modern Sindh) as witnessed by the classical authors, *ibid.*, p. 208: "They study no science with attention but that of medicine."



the Ambashthas of the Maikal region migrated to Bihar where they have merged themselves into the Kāyastha community.

It will be seen that the ancient Ambashthas have become Kāyasthas in Bihār and, according to certain traditions, they have formed in Bengal the communities of the Vaidyas and the Māhishyas. We have now to see what castes they have formed and what social status they claim in other parts of India. In this connection, mention has to be specially made of the present day Ambashthas of the Tamil and Malayam speaking areas. When precisely the Ambashthas migrated to South India cannot be determined; but there is evidence of a southward movement of the Punjab tribes like the Śibis and the Mālavas. The dislodgment of the tribes of north-western India appears to have been caused by the irruption at different epochs of foreigners such as the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushāns and Huns.<sup>5</sup>

The Ambashthas of the Tamil country follow principally the professions of the barber and surgeon. The word *ambashtha* becomes *ambatṭan* in Tamil spelling and pronunciation and means 'a barber' in the Tamil language. It is believed that the word is derived from *amba* meaning 'near',<sup>6</sup> prefixed to the root *sthā*, 'to stay,' and signifies one who stands by a person to serve him in the capacity of a barber or surgeon. We know that a sect of the barbers of Malabar is called *Adutton* which, in the Malayalam language, means 'one who stands near by.' Ambashtha girls of the Tamil country serve their neighbours as midwives. It is sometimes conjectured that the Ambashthas originally followed the profession of the physician, but that they later adopted the work of the barber and also of the musician. The theory however

<sup>5</sup> For the southward movement of the northern tribes, see Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, p. 11, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> This meaning of the word is not supported by Sanskrit lexicons.



takes the tradition recorded in the *Manu Smṛti* on its face value.

The social life of the Tamil Ambashṭhas is guided by Brahmanical regulations and rituals. High class Brāhmaṇas act as priests in their marriage ceremony; but the priests, when they go away after the work of the day, have to purify themselves by a bath. The Ambashṭha girls are taught to sing from an early age, as they have to sing in connection with certain rites performed in the fourth or fifth day of their marriage. The remarriage of widows is disallowed in the Ambashṭha society as in that of the high class Brāhmaṇas. Dead bodies are cremated, but those of infants buried. The Ambashṭhas cremate the dead bodies of all the poor people of their village with the exception only of the Brāhmaṇas.

The Ambashṭhas perform the functions of the priest in the marriage ceremony of the Koṅga Vellalas of the Salem District. There is a legend that appears to suggest that the Ambashṭhas have only recently ousted the Brāhmaṇas from this field. The Ambashṭha people are divided into two religious groups, viz., Śaiva and Vaishṇava; but there is no objection to inter-marriage between the two classes. The Vaishnavite Ambashṭhas who are endowed by their preceptors with the symbols of the conch and discus do not touch fish, meat or liquor.

There is a large number of Ambashṭhas in the population of the Salem District. They are divided into four socio-religious sections each under a hereditary chief called Peritanakkaran. There are about 1000 heads of families under each of the chiefs. An Ambashṭha may live far away from his original home in connection with business or other pursuits, but he cannot renounce his allegiance to his Peritanakkaran. A chief has to be obeyed even if he is a boy. It is he who settles marriage relations amongst the Ambashṭha families under his jurisdiction. In important matters such as the settlement of disputes, the chief gets the help of a committee



of elders. Each family has to contribute  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas per annum and the money thus collected is spent in pious works such as the maintenance of the *Satrams* and the repairs of temples. The Ambashtha *Satrams* at Tirupporur and at Tirukalikundram, both in the Chingput District, are very famous. They supply free food to the Brahmanas, while Hindus belonging to other high castes may get from them a supply of uncooked food.

The Ambashthas do not shave the members of such low castes as the Paraiyan and Mal who have their own barbers and washermen. An Ambashtha barber loses in social estimation if he shaves people of the lower castes. Some of these barbers wander about from house to house in search of persons who desire a shave, while others wait for such persons at the public bathing places. But a number of Ambashtha barbers receive their customers in a shade at the back of their house where they work from the morning till midday. Like the barbers of other parts of the world, the Ambashthas are also famous news-mongers: they claim to know the details of the most recent occurrences of the village. They have no equal in gossiping; but they are always reticent about the ingredients of their medicinal pellets. The surgical instrument of the Ambashthas is their razor. Like the washerman, blacksmith, carpenter, astrologer, priest and the dancing girl, the village barber also has some land allotted to him which he enjoys hereditarily. He also receives some paddy from the households whose members are his customers.

An Ambashtha is also called *Vaidyan* as he is the village physician and surgeon; but he is usually regarded as *Nasivan*, i.e., bad luck. He has no entrance into the houses of Brahmanas on certain specified days. He has also to salute his superiors by lying down on the ground. There are many stories about the skill of an old barber. A tradition current amongst the Ambashthas is about the reward of shaving a sleeping king without dis-



turbing his slumber. According to a Tamil proverb, the best qualification of a barber is his old age and that of a washerman his youth.

The barbers of South Travancore are also known as Ambashṭhas. Here also the Ambashṭha girls practise midwifery. These Ambashṭhas work as priests and are therefore called *Prāṇopakārī* (benefactor of the soul). Some families of the Travancore barbers are known as *Parrikkar* and *Vaidyan* which are essentially titles conferred by the Kings. The social customs of the Ambashṭhas of Malabar resemble those of the Nayars; but, in some respects, they are similar to the practices of the Tamil barbers. Brāhmaṇa priests do not take part in the marriage ceremony of the Travancore barbers. Cross-cousin marriage is the most popular form of matrimony. The period of *asauca* (legal impurity caused by the birth of a child and the death of a relation) observed by all sections of the Travancore barbers is 16 days; but the Tamil Ambashṭhas recently migrated to this region observe only 11 days' impurity.

A number of South Indian castes such as the Kshauraka, Villava and Pulluvan is known to call themselves the *Vaidyan* or the physician caste. Even a section of the Paraiyans claims to be styled the *Vaidyan*. A village doctor of any community is also the *Vaidyan*.<sup>7</sup>

From the above discussion it will be clear that, in spite of the difference in occupation and social position, the present day Ambashṭhas of eastern India cannot deny their kinship with the Ambashṭhas of the Tamil land and Malabar, as the ancient Ambashṭhas, settled in different parts of the country, have no doubt adopted different professions.<sup>8</sup> The case of these Ambashṭhas proves beyond doubt that the taboo about commensality and connubium

<sup>7</sup> The account is compiled from the *Castes and Tribes of South India* by E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, S.V.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Mandasor inscription of the fifth century A.D. which speaks of a band of silk-weavers of the Lāṭa country in the Nausari-Broach region who migrated to Daśapura in West



as practised by different castes and communities today has, in many cases, no historical foundation at all.

#### APPENDIX

##### *The Vaidyas and Māhishyas of Bengal*

The Vaidya or the physician caste of Bengal is identified with the ancient Ambashṭha *jāti* in the Vaidya *Kula-pañjī* entitled *Chandraprabhā* written in 1675 A.D. by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Bharata Mallika, the celebrated Vaidya author of Bengal. The tradition is supported by some other late-medieval and modern authorities. The Māhishyas, not known outside Bengal today, are represented as Ambashṭha in a late work entitled *Sūta-Samhitā*. The genuineness of these traditions has not been questioned by greatest Bengali historians of today who happen to be Vaidyas by caste.<sup>9</sup> The author of this note however thinks that the evidence at our disposal does not put the authenticity of the above traditions beyond doubt.

Like the Kāyasthas, the Vaidyas of Bengal probably represent a professional caste; that is to say, they originally belonged to a professional group which later crystallised into a caste. There are apparently elements of different *varṇas* including the Brāhmaṇa in both the communities. We have evidence to show that in earlier times there was no objection to intermarriage between the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas of Bengal and such marriage relations between the two communities exist ever today in the eastern districts of Bengal such as Mymensingh,

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Malwa. In Malwa, some of these weavers adopted various other professions such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This no doubt shows the looseness of the caste regulations as we find them in the later period. Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 292.

<sup>9</sup> H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 207 n.; R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 568, 571-72, 589-91.



Tipperah and Chittagong.<sup>10</sup> The identification of the Vaidyas with the Ambashṭhas is rendered doubtful by the fact that the two communities are mentioned side by side not only in a late work called the *Uśanaḥ Saṃhitā* but also in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* which is supposed to have been composed in eastern India about the thirteenth century A.D. These Ambashṭhas are no doubt the Ambashṭha Kāyasthas of Bihar and it is clear that their association with the Vaidyas was not probably conceived as late as the time of the above *Purāṇa*. The Vaidyas are however described as Ambashṭhas, in another work composed in eastern India entitled *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa*<sup>10a</sup> which has been assigned by scholars to about the fourteenth century A.D. But the date of this *Purāṇa* or at least its section on the castes is rendered doubtful by the fact that it is not quoted in support of the Vaidyāmbashṭha theory in Bharata Mallika's *Chandraprabhā* written in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Bharata quotes certain passages from Śaṅkha, Hārīta and Viṣṇu; but their antiquity and genuineness have not yet been proved. It is interesting that he quotes earlier *Kulapañjikāras* like Durjaya Dāsa, Saṃjaya, Chirañjīva Dāsa and Antarāṅga Khān (probably the same as Saṃjaya) on other matters but *not* on the Ambashṭha question. It is again significant that the *Sadvaidya-Kulapañjikī* written in 1653 A.D. by Kavikanṭhahāra is conspicuous in its silence about the Ambashṭha association of the Vaidyas. We know that the Bengal Vaidyas were regarded as Śūdra by Vāchaspati Miśra, Raghunandana and the *Kulapañjikāras* and it was not unnatural for a Vaidya author

<sup>10</sup> The same is also the case with the Vaidyas of the Sylhet District now forming part of Assam. For an interesting summary of the evidence of the *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* and *Chandraprabhā* on this point, see J. C. Ghosh, *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, 1340 B.S., pp. 161—65.

<sup>10a</sup> The Vaidyas according to this *Purāṇa* were to follow the vocation of the Vaiśya in respect of manufacturing medicines and that of the Śūdra in regard to religious ceremonies (cf. Chapters XIII-XIV of the *Uttara-Khaṇḍa*).



to fabricate a legend with a view to enhancing the social position of his community.<sup>11</sup> As the Vaidyas are physician by profession, it was quite natural to conjecture their connection with the Ambashthas for whom Manu prescribes the profession of the physician.

The population of eastern and southern India is broadly divided into two social grades, viz., Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra (including the Antyaja). After the introduction of the census in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Śūdra communities especially of eastern India began to claim a better social status. It is now well-known that the Āguris represent themselves as Ugra-Kshatriya, the Bāgdis as Vyāgra Kshatriya, the Namaḥ Śūdras (originally known as Chaṅga, but usually identified with the Chaṇḍālas of ancient literature) as Namo Brāhmaṇa and the Nāpitas (barbers) as Nai Brāhmaṇa or Savitri Brahmana.<sup>12</sup> But the Vaidyas, who head all Bengal castes in point of education, started a communal movement at least as early as the days of Bharata Mallika (17th century) who attempted to brush away the stigma of Śūdratva from his community and of Rājā Rājavallabha (18th century) who claimed for Vaidyas the status of the Vaiśya and introduced the custom of suffixing to the Vaidya cognomens the word *Gupta* indicating Vaiśyatva.<sup>13</sup> As a result of this movement matrimonial relation with Kāyastha families has been discouraged and the society of the Vaidyas has become considerably well-organised. When, after the introduction of the census, the lower castes

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Chandraprabhā, p. 4: ambashthānām=api Kalau śūdratvam=iti vāchaspatimiśrādibhis=tathā śuddhitattve smārṭa-bhattāchāryeṇ=āpy=uktaṃ; ata eva kulapañjikāyam=uktaṃ—atidishṭam hi vaidyasya śūdratvam Kshatriyādivat, tasmāt Kshtraviśas=tulyo vaidyaḥ śūdrasya pūjitaḥ, iti. Note that Bharata does not claim brāhmaṇatva for his community.

<sup>12</sup> *Census of India*, 1931, Vol V (Bengal and Sikkim), Part I, pp. 426-27.

<sup>13</sup> *Sabdakalpadruma*, S. V. Gupta and Varmā: śarmāntam brāhmaṇasya syād=varmāntam Kshatriyasyacha, gupta-dāsāntakam nāma praśastam vaiśya=śūdrayoh.



began to claim the status of the Vaiśya, Kshatriya and Brāhmaṇa, the Vaidyas naturally were no longer satisfied with their Vaiśyatva and a large section of the community has recently claimed the social position of the Brāhmaṇa as well as the right to use the word *śarman* suffixed to the Vaidya cognomens.

The authenticity of another tradition regarding the Vaidyas may be discussed in this connection. It is well-known that, according to the *Kulapañjikāras*, King Vallāla Sena (12th century) introduced the orders of nobility known as Kulinism amongst the Brāhmaṇas, Kayasthas and Vaidyas of Bengal. The absence of any reference to Kulinism in the epigraphic records of the Senas suggests that the Sena Kings could not have been entirely responsible for the institution. It seems to have originated from such qualities as education, wealth, good deeds, etc., and to have been gradually standardised through the efforts of the *Samājapatis*, *Kulapañjikāras* and *Ghaṭakas* (professional match-makers who were the custodians of family traditions of particular communities). This suggestion can be satisfactorily proved from the *Chandraprabhā* and the *Sadvaidya-Kulapañjikā* at least with regard to the Vaidyas of Bengal. In connection with the Kulinism in the Vaidya community, Bharata does not refer to Vallāla at all. According to him, Kulinism originates from good conduct: but he does not deny that wealth, not entirely unconnected with *sadāchāra* may also bring it.<sup>13</sup> The *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, on the other hand, states specifically that according to 'ancient' authorities Kulinism results from good conduct and other qualities, but that according to 'recent' writers it was introduced amongst the Vaidyas by an ancient Vaidya King named Vallāla Sena.<sup>14</sup> The story of Vallāla Sena's

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Chandraprabhā*, p. 5: āchārādāya ev=eti santi yeshām mahātmanām, ta eva hi kulīnāḥ syur=na kulam pārlaukikam; dhanena kulam=ity=uktaṃ yad=āchāravatām tu tat, etc.



association with the Kulinism of the Vaidyas thus appears to have been fabricated not much earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. It may be pointed out in this connection that the family of Vallāla Sena, who is claimed to have been a Vaidya, is known to be a Brahma-Kshatriya or Karṇāṭa-Kshatriya *Kula*, i.e., a Kshatriya family claiming an admixture of Brāhmaṇa blood and hailing from the Kanarese country. It is unknown whether the Senas of Bengal were absorbed in the Kāyastha or the Vaidya community and whether they originally belonged to the Ambashṭha community of South India. The caste organisation of the Bengal Vaidyas, however, may have been influenced in some way by the southerners who entered Bengal during the Sena epoch and must have exercised great influence at the Bengal court. But we do not know if some Ambashṭha-Vaidyas of the Deccan also entered the country in the same epoch and merged themselves in the Bengali Vaidya community<sup>15</sup>

As regards the Māhishyas, the old name *Māhishya* (from the Mahisha country either in the Māhishmati region on the Narmadā or in Mysore) has been only recently adopted by the agriculturist Kaivartas who have dissociated themselves from their *Kaivarta* brethren still

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Sadvaidya kulapañjikā*, pp. 1-2: āchāro vinayo vidyā patishṭhā tīrtha-darśanam, nishṭhā vrittis=tapodānam navadhā kula-lakṣhaṇam; prāchīna-matam=etad=dhi vadamity=ādhunīkāḥ punah, pura vaidya-kul-odbhūta-vallālena mahibhujā;

<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that the Vaidya as a distinct social group is mentioned for the first time in South Indian inscriptions. The Telamanchi grant of Vikramāditya I of Badami, dated 660 A.D. and written by *Vjra-varman* of the *Vaidyānvaya*, i.e., Vaidya family, is the earliest of such epigraphic records. The Amamalai inscription of the Pāṇḍya King Māraṇjadaiyan dated in 769-70 A.D. and the Velvikudi and Madras Museum records of the same ruler refer to several Vaidya chiefs who occupied high offices in the state. One of these officers, who is described as a Vaidya or Vaidyaka-chūḍāmani, was a great general and for some time served as *Uttara-mantrin* or prime minister of the King cf. EI, IX, p. 101; VIII, p. 317-21; XVII, pp. 291-309; *IA*, 1893, p. 57 ff. It is probable that these Vaidyas belonged to the present-day community of the Ambashṭha-Vaidyas of the Tamil land. Their entry into Bengal in the train of the Kanarese conquerors is also quite probable.



following the profession of the fisherman.<sup>17</sup> The Ambashtha association claimed on behalf of the Māhishyas seems to have been fabricated in imitation of the Vaidyas.

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<sup>17</sup> The caste-designation Māhishya was unknown to the Kaivarta kings Divvoka, Rudoka and Bhīma who ruled North Bengal in the last quarter of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century. But the Kaivarta fishermen of eastern India were known as early as the fifth pillar edict of Aśoka (c. 273—232 B.C.).



## SYMBOLISM IN TIBETAN BUDDHISM

BY

SWAMI PRANAVĀNANDA,

*of Holy Kailasa and Manasarovar, Almora.*§ 1. The Father-Mother Pose (*Yab-Yum*).

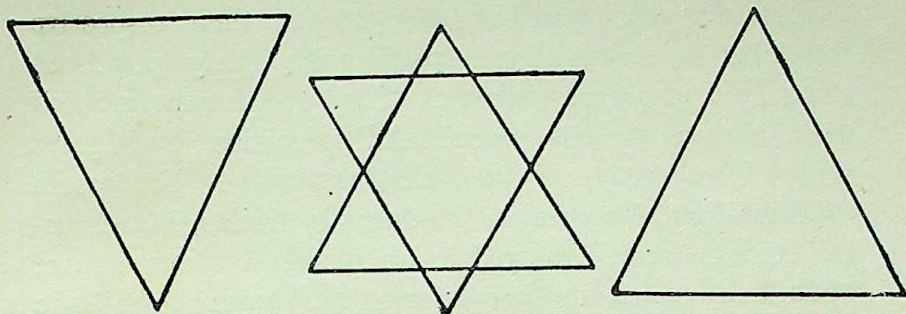
Every Buddhist Sect in Tibet, every *gompa* (monastery) and every *lāmā* (Tibetan high monk) has a *yidam* (*Ishṭa-devatā*, tutelary deity or god-protector) of its or his own. The *Yidam* of a *lāmā* and that of the sect or monastery to which he belongs need not necessarily be the same. It is only a monk that can propitiate or worship the *Yidam* directly, the house-holder (*grhastha*) cannot do so but through a monk. *Dolmā* (*Tārā*) is the only *Yidam* of the higher order who can be worshipped by the layman.

The *yidam* is almost invariably represented in *Yab-Yum Mudrā* (lit. father-mother pose). The fundamental principle of the Yoga System, namely the union of the individual soul with the universal spirit or the union of the spirit with matter is symbolically represented by the Tibetan mystics as *Yab-Yum* posture. *Yab* represents premial male, Purusha, Divinity, Śiva, *Vajra-dhātu*, or the subject. *Yum* represents primordial female (or producing) principal, Prakṛiti (matter), *Śakti*, Kālī, *Garbha-dhātu*, or object. So the *Yab-Yum* pose represents Divine ecstasy or the spiritual communion with the most high. As a matter of fact *Yidam* is considered by Tibetans to be more efficacious if worshipped with his *Śakti* in *Yab-Yum* pose. This posture is also called *Vajra-mudrā*.<sup>1</sup>

This *Yab-Yum* mudra is geometrically represented in Maṇḍals or Yantras by two triangles—one resting on its base and the other resting on its apex mutually interlocked, as shown in the following figure :

<sup>1</sup> In the esoteric doctrine *Vajra* is the symbol of the *linga*.





The first represents *Yoni*, *Prakṛiti*, imperfection, the exoteric principle or objectivity, and the second represents *linga*, *Purusha*, perfection, the esoteric principle or subjectivity. Subjectivity and objectivity acting and reacting upon each other produce this universe of diversity. This is the underlying principle for representing the *Brahmāṇḍachakra* or the Wheel of Universe by two interlocked triangles. Various forces of the *Mūla-prakṛiti* or *Mahā-Kālī* have been represented as different *Yums* or *Mātrikās* of different *Yabs*. Just as a Hindu whether male or female, has not got even the least idea of sex or sensuous feeling while worshipping the *linga* or phallus of Śiva, so a Tibetan when he or she does the worship of the *Yidam* in *Yab-Yum* pose.

Lamas of higher order usually retire to a solitary place, almost invariably to a cave for a month or two in a year for the worship of their *Yidam*. This kind of retirement either for a short time or for a long period is called *chham* in Tibetan. I was in *chham* for a month in Pushya 1945 with *tulku lāmā* (*avatārī* or incarnation lama) Jayāñ (जयान्) Chhojur popularly known as Nav-Kushok of the Simbiling *gompā* in a cave in Kailas-Manas Khanda. The worship is accompanied with much elaborate ritual and ceremony, not described here.

Every *Yidam* has got a separate *maṇḍala* which is used only in the worship of that particular deity. A *Maṇḍala* or *Yantra* is a mystic circle geometrically subdivided in circles, squares, or chords in which are painted some symbols, deities and *lingāksharas*. When the



*Yidams* are worshipped in the *gompas*, their respective *maṇḍalas* are elaborately prepared with finely powdered stone dyed in various colours. They are drawn in relief with minute details, wonderful precision and great skill. I had witnessed four such *maṇḍalas* or *Yantras* in the Simbling Monastery of Taklakot in Kailas, Manasarovar region, where I stayed as an inmate for some time, when I sojourned for the winter on the shores of the Lake Manasarovar for two years in 1936-37 and 1943-45. The diameter of the *Yantras* was 4 to 5 feet. For the portable use of individuals during *chham*, the *Maṇḍalas*, of different *Yidams* are painted on banners and planks of wood.

## § 2. Śamvara or Demchhog ( देमछोग )

Demchhok or Demchhog is the presiding deity of the Holy Mount Kailas according to Tibetan mythology and scriptures. He is also the presiding deity of two more mounts, one on Nepal borders and the second 200 miles east of Lhasa. The iconographic form of Demchhog is highly interesting as understood in the light of the explanation which Tibetan mystics<sup>3</sup> offer for the many attributes associated with him. According to them Demchhog represents Supreme Bliss, as he is of the rank of the Buddha.

Demchhog has four faces the middle one is blue, the right one is white, the left green, and the back one is red. They represent the four-fold sets of ideas like four elements, earth, water, fire and air, four virtues—compassion, affection, love and impartiality, and so on.

Each face has three eyes which symbolizes that he

<sup>2</sup> Śamvara was an Asura in Indian mythology opposed to Indra, literally śam, bliss, and vara, screening. While translating the name in Tibetan, *Śamvara*, became 'Bliss Excellent (Skt. vara also meaning excellent), and thus *Śamvara* in place of the demon that withholds bliss became the deity of Supreme Bliss and was identified with Śiva, presiding deity of Kailasa—V.S. Agrawala.

<sup>3</sup> This is the exposition given by the incarnation Lama Navakushok of the Simbling *gompā* from one of the books on *Yidam*.



knows the times past, present and future, that the three worlds are under his vision, and so on.

Each of his heads is adorned with a crown of five skulls representing the five-fold wisdom. The faces frown and the teeth are set showing that all vices are overcome by him. On each head the hair is tied in a knot and each skull in the crown of head is adorned with a pearl or gem showing that merit has been acquired to the fullest degree. The wheel of bone over the head is meditative.

The ear-rings symbolise fortitude; necklace charity; bracelets charity and girdle symbolises energy. His blue body is the symbol of never changing form.

Demchhok has twelve arms, which represent the knowledge of the twelve causes of the round of life (*Avidyā Saṃskāra*, *Vijñāna*, *Nāma-rūpa*, *Shāḍāyatana*, *Sparśa*, *Vedanā*, *Trishṇā*, *Upādāna*, *Bhava*, *Jāti* and *Jarā-maraṇa*). The first pair of upper hands holds *dorje* (*vajra*) representing the method and the *tilbu* (bell). To show that they are ever in union the two hands clasp the Śakti. The second set of two hands hold a raw elephant-hide which they are tearing asunder. Elephant-hide is the symbol of ignorance. The third right hand holds a *damaru* proclaiming joyous tidings; the fourth right hand brandishes a *tari* (battle-axe) with which he cuts off the ties of births and death; the fifth right hand holds a *di* (dagger) to show that the six sins of pride, etc., are cut off and the sixth right hand grasps a *khatam* (*Trisūla*) showing that the root passions of *Kāma*, *Krodha*, and *Lobha* are controlled.

The third left hand holds a *khaṭvāṅga* (a staff surmounted by a *dorje* and *amṛita-kalaśa*) a sign of supreme bliss; the fourth left hand holds a blood-filled *kapāla* (human skull) signifying that all ideas material as well as non-material are done away with, from the fifth left hand dangles a *thaghā* (noose) which denotes knowledge that grasps the nature of sentient beings; and in the sixth left hand is the head of four-faced Chhangpā (Brahmā) show-



ing that all delusions of the worldly cycle (*samsāra*) have been shaken off.

He tramples an emaciated figure symbolising time under his feet and his left leg spurns the form of a black demon. Both these bodies are four-armed, the former a male figure and the latter a female one.

Round the waist, Demchhog is loosely draped in a tiger skin as he is released from all distinction of matter and spirit. There is full symmetry and grace in his body his countenance is heroic, stern and severe. He is full of energy; he is awe-inspiring and yet he is compassionate, and his features are of a peaceful cast. This is *ugra* (fierce) form of Demchhog.

His *Yum* (divine wife), symbolic of Energy, clings to him in inextricable embrace. She is red in colour which is the symbol of affection for all beings in Tibetan art. She has only one face since all things have one taste; she possesses two hands, for she comprehends both aspects of Truth—the apparent and the real; her right hand holds a curved knife which is wisdom or consciousness, that cuts away all qualifying thoughts and passions. She brandishes this weapon in all directions. With her left hand she clasps her partner. To signify that she has untied the knot which holds all things to be what they appear, her hair is loose and flowing. She is naked for she is free from the obscuring veil of passion. She like her partner is three-eyed and wears the crown of five skulls or five Wisdoms.

He is *Purusha* and she is *Prakriti*. They are inseparable, so they are shown mutually interlocked and touching at all points of contact. The marriage is consummated in the midst of a halo of flames, the fire of Supreme Wisdom which burns up all obstacles.

In Tibetan paintings of gods and goddesses bliss is represented by blue colour and devotion to the service of beings by red colour. So we see that most of *Yidams* are painted in blue colour.



## BENARES PLATES OF HARI RĀJA OF ŚURA DYNASTY

BY

PROF. AHI BHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

In the course of the construction of a municipal road in the Bhelupura locality of Benares, a set of three inscribed Copper Plates was unearthed and the find was brought to the notice of the present writer in April 1944.

The plates containing the inscription were discovered inside a well by the side of the newly constructed road running from Bhelupura to Oudh Gharbi through Kirim Kund Mohalla. The plates were cleansed and the inscription deciphered by me was published in an issue of the Bengali monthly "Bhāratavarsha" of Calcutta. The plates have now been acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, by its Curator, Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph. D., and are now preserved there.

The plates of which the first and last are engraved on one side only are three in number, each measuring about  $6\frac{3}{8}$ " by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are fairly thick and substantial and the letters which are fairly deep do not show through on the reverse side at all, and are in a perfect state of preservation. The engraving is good though the interior of a few letters show marks of the scribe's tool. Towards the top of each plate about the centre there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and  $3\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring were flattened, soldered and joined together. On the flattened portion there is no legend as usually found on seals but the drawing of a pitcher with mango sprouts on its mouth with a flag-staff, ostensibly a विजयकलश an emblem of victory. The weight of the three plates together is 1 lb. 3 oz.



and of the ring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  oz. total 1 lb.  $4\frac{1}{4}$  oz. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and represent a specimen of the box-headed variety peculiar to Central India. There is no numerical symbols in the plates. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 19 to 23. In respect of orthography, we have to notice—

- (1) the use of upadhmanīya in भूमेः पञ्चाशदेका in line 13, and हन्तुः प्राप्नोति in line 2f;
- (2) the use of ङ instead of the anusvāra before ङ in वङ्ग in lines 2 and 17-18 and गवाङ्ग in line 21;
- (3) the use of म् instead of अनुस्वार in दत्ताम्बा in line 21;
- (4) the occasional doubling of क, त, ग, न, म, व in conjunction with a following r;
- (5) there are instances of archaism as in स्वस्तिरस्तु a form which is not sanctioned by grammar but is found in the R̥gveda. In this connection it might be noted that हरेत and मोदति in the often quoted imprecatory verse are also ungrammatical in form. हरिराज्ञा also transgresses the rule of Pāṇini.
- (6) there are Prakritisms as in प्रकृतिका instead of प्रकृतिका in line 10, and कृताभ्यनुज्ञो instead of कृताभ्यनुज्ञो in line 5; सन्तकीय in line 12 is a Prakrit word. It is used in the Pardi inscription of Dahra Sena and the inscriptions of the Vākātaka Kings (Chammak Copper Plate of Pravarasena II and Siwani Copper Plate of Pravarasena II—Fleet-Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Plates 55 and 56). In the St. Petersburg Dictionary it is derived from the root अस्.



The inscription is non-sectarian and the object of it is to record the grant of a portion of land in आम्बक नगर belonging to the principal Queen of Harirāja, Ananta Mahadevi by name to a Brāhman Somasvamin of Kaundinya gotra. सीमापत्ति

King Harirāja is credited with qualities and prowess equal to that of हरि i.e., Vishnu and is referred to the Śūra dynasty. The geneology supplied by the inscription is as given below :

श्री म(को)भग्रहराज  
|  
निष्ठुरराज  
|  
हरिराज = अनन्तमहादेवी

There is nothing to indicate the era or date to which the inscription might be referred. On palaeographical grounds we might well allot it to the 5th or 6th century A.D. Incidentally it furnishes us with the earliest Gupta inscription discovered at Benares or Sarnath.

The charter is issued from camp Śāntanapura, but topographical details about the locality which might be roughly identified with the two places named in the inscription, viz., शांतनपुर and आम्बक नगर are not available. Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit the Retired Director General of Archaeology, in an obliging letter to me, suggested that Śāntanapura, wherefrom the grant was issued may be identified with Sutna, an important railway station where roads from Nagod, Rewa and other important places meet. He further opined that the Śūra dynasty should be slightly later than the Parivrajakas, who ruled in that region in the 5th century A.D. This inscription therefore, is the first epigraphic record of a Śūra dynasty ruling in India. Apparently however, this Śūra dynasty has no connection with Ādi Śūra of traditional eminence in Bengal and does not establish or corroborate the Ādi Śūra myth. It seems plausible to me that the scribe might have inscribed श्रीमकोभग्रहाज in place of श्रीमतो भग्रहराज In that case the name of the grandfather of the King हरिराज



would be भगहराज, a name not uncommon in the Gupta Age. In Khoh Copper Plate of Maharaja Hastin (Fleet-Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Volume III, Nos. 21 and 22), we find the name भगह as the दूतक। Bhagharaja seems to have been the founder of the Śūra dynasty but his grandson is credited with the victory of many hundred battles. It is not improbable that the territories of the King extended far towards the north and reached the outskirts of Benares and the extent of the kingdom justified the appointment of Viceroy in distant विषय आम्ब्रक नगर, which is a Prakritism for आम्रक नगर, mentioned as within the boundaries of the queen's land might have been an appanage to the dominions of हरिराज by his marriage with a lady of befitting lineage (युक्तान्वयवती). The place was perhaps specially rich in mango fruit, thus lending its name to the city, and the reference to वणिजः of this city indicates that there were traders who dealt in mango and were an important element of the population. The vicinity of Benares where the inscription is discovered has been famous from a long time for the best Langra mango fruit in India. We hear of mango groves in Sarnath in the Jataka legends even. It might well be the probable site of the ancient आम्रक नगर, Nevertheless it is quite likely that the fortunate Brahmin who was the recipient of the grant had subsequently gone on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Benares, where as luck would have it, he breathed his last, leaving behind his precious document, which he had thought it expedient to carry with him for safety during his sojourn.

One point of importance in the inscription is that the charter is issued not by the King or Queen but by the गण of महामात्रs which seems to have been vested with the authority in certain executive functions. The गण of these महामात्रs was something like a modern cabinet presided over by the स्वविर or Grand Old Man. Members of the गण are individually named in the inscription purposely but the singular use of अस्माभिः महामात्रगणेन indicates their



collective responsibility. The name महामात्र occurs in Asoka's edicts where it signifies a high officer of state. धर्ममहामात्र of Asoka's edicts like the Mohtasibs of the Mogal Emperors were officers of Imperial Service and they were the guardians of the moral standard of the people. (The term might be a corrupt form of महामात्य

It is noteworthy that the queen was of befitting descent, probably the daughter of some powerful northern king, who like the Lichchhavi duhitā consorts of Bimbisāra of Saśūnāga dynasty and Chandra Gupta I of the Guptas had probably added not only to the splendour and dignity but also to the territory of her husband thus extending it to the border of Benares.

The inscription has no reference to year or dates except the word महाकात्तिक in line 15 which might correspond like the महावैशाख, महाचैत्र, महाअश्वयुज etc. to a year of the Gupta Era.

The amount of land given to the Brahmin is described as महामानेन भूमेः पंचाशदेका . . . . . in line 13, after which there is some blank space left at the end of the line. It is not understood whether some more words were originally intended to be written after it. In the absence of any further data it cannot be ascertained whether the term एका was ever a unit in land measurement. महामन might mean a larger rod of measurement than what was ordinarily used like the "वड़ा तौल" of grocers. The text of the inscription is given below.

#### PLATE I.—Second page

- Line 1 स्वस्ति शान्तनपुरादनेकसमरशतविजयि शूर-  
 „ 2. वड्डशललामभूतस्य श्रीम(को) भग्नहराजनपुर्निष्ठुर-  
 „ 3. राजसूनोर्हरितुल्य गुणविक्रमधामनाम्नो हरिरा-  
 „ 4. जस्य युक्तान्वयवत्या प्रधानमहिष्या अनन्तमहादे-  
 „ 5. व्या हरिराज्ञा च क्रिताभ्यनुज्ञो गुणस्थविरक-  
 „ 6. गोत्र गोविन्दनारायणमातृवत्सगणवत्सनाग-



PLATE II,—First page

- Line. 7. कुमारदामुकस्कन्दकोवकटिक शशाङ्कविष्णुदे- ॥ V2up  
 „ 8. वप्रभाकरादिर्महामात्रगणः सर्वानाम्ब्रक-  
 „ 9. नगरवास्तव्यान्तवालवृद्धपरिजनपुरः सरान् स-  
 „ 10. प्रक्रितिकाम्बणिजस्तदन्तिकग्रामसन्निवासिनश्च संपू-  
 „ 11. ज्य इममर्थमावेदयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्मा-  
 „ 12. भिर्महामात्रगणेन अनन्तमहादेवी सन्तकीय एवाम्ब्रक-

PLATE II.—Second page

- „ 13. नगरे महामानेन भूमेः पञ्चाशदेका . . .  
 „ 14. कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रेभ्यस्सम्यगुपनिषत्सिद्धान्तविक्रस्सोमस्वा-  
 „ 15. मिभ्यः महार्कात्तिक पौर्णमास्यां उदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादिता अत ए-  
 „ 16. तेषामाचन्तावकार्णवक्षिति समकालमेतमनुभुञ्जतां शूरव-  
 „ 17. इक्षप्रभवेन वा अन्येन वा विषयपतिना न केनचि-  
 „ 18. दप्यन्तराय उत्पाद्य इति ॥ आहुश्च धर्म-

PLATE III.—First page

- „ 19. शास्त्रकाराः षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति  
 „ 20. भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे (त्)  
 „ 21. स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवाडशतसह-  
 „ 22. सस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं इति गोघ्नः पितृघ्नः ब्रह्म-  
 „ 23. हास्तेयि सुरापो गुरुतल्पगः भवन्ति तस्य एतानि य  
 „ 24. एतानुद्धरिष्यति स्वस्तिरस्तु महामात्रगणस्य ॥ दृष्टं ॥

TRANSLATION

Line 1. Hail! from camp *Sāntanapura*, by the order of *Ananta-Mahādevī*, the principal queen of befitting descent of *Harirāja*, and also by the order of *Harirāja* who is equal to Hari in quality and prowess, son of *Niṣṭhura-rāja*, grandson of the illustrious *Bhagraharāja*, victor of many hundred battles, ornament of the *Śūra* dynasty—

Line 6.—The head of the Gaṇa, Gonna, Govinda, Nārāyaṇa, Mātrvatsa, Ganavatsa, Nāga Kumāra, Dāmu-ka, Skanda, Kokkatika, (Śaśāṅka), Viṣṇudeva, (Prabhākara)



and others of the council of the Mahāmatras, after worshipping all the residents of *Ambraka Nagara* beginning with the children, aged and attendants, the merchants together with their women and also the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood notifies this matter.

*Line 11.*—Be it known to you that by us, the Gana of Mahāmātras, a piece of 50 *Ekā* of land measured by the *Mahāmāna* in the *Āmbraka nagara* within the estate of Ananta Mahādevi is given with libations of water of Somasvāmin of Kaundinya gotra, well-versed in the doctrines of the Upanisads, on the full-moon day of Mahākārttika (year) to be enjoyed for the same time with the moon, sun, ocean and the earth.

*Line 16.*—And therefore, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be created by anybody who is born in the *Śūra* line or by any governor of a province.

*Line 18.*—And it has been said by the authors of Dharma Śāstras—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents to (an act of such confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land either given by himself or by another, incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. He incurs the guilt of the slayer of cow, slayer of father, slayer of Brahmin, thief, drunkard and the usurper of the bed of the preceptor. Be it well to the Gana of the Mahamatras. Examined.



SAVAI-VERE PLATES OF GUHALLADEVA II;  
SAKA 960

BY

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This set of *three copper-plates*, complete with its *ring* and *seal* was originally found with some farmer in Tivra, Ponda, Goa; and was acquired for the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, where it is now preserved. It is reported to have been found while digging in the village *Sāvai-verē*, near Marcella and was first noticed by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 96 ff. and Vol. IV, p. 176; and by Prof. G. M. Moraes, M.A., in the *Kadamba Kula*.<sup>1</sup> In the last mentioned work it was described as the "Marcella Plates of Shashṭha Dēva II" where a short transcript of it was given from the readings supplied by the late Shastri Bhavanishankar Sukathankar, of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay. But the published text given there omitted several lines from it and as the plates were not edited very accurately I requested Rev. H. Heras, S. J., the Director of the Institute, kindly to allow me to edit them, for which I am highly obliged to him. I am also grateful to Mr. L. S. Deuskar, M.A., for certain useful suggestions. I have also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mahāmahōpādhyaya Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., for going through my deciphered text and for making some corrections as regards the grammatical mistakes that

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix, III. No. 1. This has again been reprinted, with considerable inaccuracies by Prof. Pandurang Pissurlencar, in his "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa", *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, p. 2 ff.



have crept into this grant. The plates are re-named here after the find-spot and the donated village mentioned in the inscription.

These are a set of three copper plates each measuring about 8.2" in length and 4.5" in breadth. About 2" from the centre of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about .5" in diameter for the oval ring which has joined it to the other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which are about 4" in thickness and 4.5" in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a round seal 1½" in diameter. The latter has over it, in relief, a representation of the Kadamba Lion,<sup>2</sup> the crest of the Kadamba family. The weight of the plates together with the ring is 91 *tolas*.

The plates have suffered very badly from verdigris, so much so that nothing can be read from the first side of the first plate and considerable portion in the last plate giving the details regarding the boundaries of the village granted, the genealogical portion and the name of the scribe, etc., in the last plate. They have also lost their edges at the corners. The inscription originally contained eighty-one lines of writing, of which thirteen and twelve are written on the first and second side respectively on the first plate, sixteen and thirteen on the first and second side respectively of the second plate, thirteen and fourteen respectively on the first and second side of the remaining third plate. On the top of the second side of the third plate some one has tried to scribble one line, which from the formation of letters and character of writing has nothing to do with the original record and is not connected with the inscription in any way.

The *characters* are of Nāgarī alphabet current in the tenth century A.D. and regular for the period in which the plates were issued. Though they do not much differ from the present day Nāgarī, the formation of the follow-

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, Fig. No. 46.



ing letters is noteworthy: *pu* in *puta* (30), *p̣ha* in lines 1, 24, 25, 31 and 63; *jya* in lines 34, 36, and 44; *sa* in lines 31 and 43; *sha* in lines 2, 33, and 38.

As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that due to the carelessness and ignorance of the scribe there are numerous mistakes. He has often confounded *sa*, *śa* and *sha* in several places; substituted *ta* for *na* and *vice versa*, *va* for *ba* in many places; and on many occasions he has left out the strokes for many letters. All these mistakes render the decipherment difficult, especially in places where proper names are mentioned. The most commonly repeated mistake is the nasalization of a letter even if it is followed by the proper *m̐* or *n̐* denoting it. This peculiarity is very often noticed in Kanerese inscriptions. Besides these, there are several mistakes grammatical and otherwise which are pointed out while giving the text.

The *language* is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is metrically composed in good style.

The plates were granted by Guhalladēva II, of the Goa Branch of the Kadamba dynasty. He is described here as a conqueror of seven Malaya kings and as one who ruled the earth like a *Chakravartin* surrounded by many feudatories. His genealogy is traced between lines 1—38 and it is identical with the records of the Kadamba family. Many verses describing his ancestors have already occurred in the Gaṇdevi inscription of Shashṭha II, Saka 964, published recently.<sup>3</sup> The historical information furnished by this genealogy is discussed below.

The *object* of the inscription is to record the gift of the village Sāvai to one Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, of the Paṭwardhan Family, a younger brother of Gōvardhana, the family priest of the King. He is stated to have been

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report*, Archaeological Department, (Baroda State) 1938-39, p. 10 ff.

Re-edited by Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, pp. 64—71. (Baroda, 1943.)



well-versed in the *Śāstras*. In lines 37—47, it is stated that his ancestor, one Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭa, belonging to the Śaṭṭyāyana *gōtra*, a knower of the six *aṅgas* of the Vēda, was a resident of the village Kāri in the Tāsa *vishaya*. From Chandrapura he settled in Vēraka. He had from his wife Siridhā, a son named Āditya, who was an *agnihōtrin*. From his wife Arevā, Āditya had two sons, whose names were Gōvardhana and Nārāyaṇa (the donee of the present plates). Gōvardhana, the elder brother, is described as conversant with the *Śāstras*, Purāṇas and the Āgamas, and was known to have studied them from his very childhood. As *Purōdhas*, he kept the sacrificial fire of the king and (by his own merits) he kept high the position he held.\*

The plates were granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day in the month of (current) Chaitra, in the expired Śaka year 960 (expressed in words only); the cyclic year being Bahudhānya. This date is quite regular and corresponds to Thursday, 23rd March, A.D. 1038, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated.<sup>4</sup> As the grant was recorded on the day following the eclipse, the month of Chaitra is mentioned whereas the eclipse actually took place on the last day of the preceding month Phālguna. The grant was given by the king on the shores of the Gōkarṇa sea along with gold weighed against himself, with the consent of his ministers.

The inscription was drafted by one (name lost), the best of poets, whose father was Mādhvāli, a holder of some *vṛitti*. He was born in the family of Gaṅga (?) and the inscription further states something done to him by the king. The charter was engraved by one Gaṅgādhara.

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\* Finding that the King was enamoured of his younger brother, Govardhana transferred his office to Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>4</sup> Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 78.



After having disposed of the formal portion of the grant, let us now turn to the historical information supplied by it.

As will be noticed from the date and the contents of the inscription, *it is perhaps the earliest known record of the Goa branch of the Kadamba dynasty*, inscribed on copper. It traces the genealogy of the Kadambas a few generations earlier than the hitherto known kings of the dynasty. It is necessary to examine it in details several of which were missed when it was first published.

*Kaṇṭakāchārya* is the first king mentioned in this grant. He is stated to have installed several fallen kings and restored them to their former glory. His fame had spread beyond the seven seas. He had obtained the three objects of *desires* (viz., Dharma, Artha and Kāma) coveted in this world. This description of him is nothing more than a formal praise and in the present stage of our knowledge it is not possible to ascertain who these fallen kings were. From the Gaṇḍevi inscription, above mentioned, we know that his other name was Shashṭha (I). This record gives us the early history of the Kadamba family which settled in Banavāsi before coming to Goa. Unfortunately the first side of our plates is too much damaged. It might have perhaps corroborated the account given in the Gaṇḍevi inscription, with which it has many common points, and would have perhaps traced the genealogy further to Trilōchana Kadamba, the mythical founder of the dynasty, from whom all the Kadambas trace their descent.

Our plates compare *Kaṇṭakāchārya* (*alias* Shashṭha I), with one *Jhampadāchārya*, if our reading is correct, whose name he is rightly said to have borne. From the manner in which this comparison is instituted *Jhampadāchārya* appears to be some unknown person, who must have helped several princes in attaining power. Who could this *Jhampadāchārya* be?



In this connection it is interesting to observe that amongst the titles of several later Kadamba kings<sup>5</sup> we come across an expression 'tyāga-jagaj-jhāṃpa-jhāṃpaḍ-āchārya'. This title appears in several forms such as Jhāṃpaḍ-āchārya, Jhāṃpaṇ-āchārya and the expression 'tyāga-jagaj-jhāṃpa' which precedes it has been interpreted by several scholars in many different ways.

Bühler<sup>6</sup> translated it as 'surpassing the world'. He attributed the meaning to the root 'jhāṃpa' which the dictionaries explain as 'to jump' 'to swoop', etc. The noun 'jhāṃpin' derived from it therefore meant 'a jumper' from which he concluded that it refers to the secondary meaning 'to surpass' as he has interpreted.

Fleet,<sup>7</sup> translated it as 'one who excells' and remarked that its origin is to be sought in the root 'jhāṃpa' which has been explained above. He further cited various passages from inscriptions in which this expression has repeatedly occurred.

Barnett<sup>8</sup> translated it as 'a wizard (a master skilled in enchantment) in the bewitchment of the world with his bounty.'

Hultzsch<sup>9</sup> took it to mean as 'who taught the people to jump and dance (for joy) by his liberality.' He recalled the 'Jhāṃpā-nṛitya'—a kind of dance played in India.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Golihalli inscription of the time of Śiva-chitta, regnal years 21-22, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 296; Siddapur inscription of Śiva-chitta, Saka 1080, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 273; Kittur inscription of the time of Jayakēśin, Kaliyuga, 4289, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 304; Goa Plates of Shashṭha II, Kaliyuga 4348, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289; Narēndra inscriptions (A and B) of Jayakēśin, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 298 ff; Momigatti inscription of Jayakēśin (II), Saka 1124, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 280 foot note.

<sup>7</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 251, and foot note.

<sup>8</sup> *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. III, p. 197.

<sup>9</sup> *Festgabe Dr. Hermann Jacobi*, p. 189.

<sup>10</sup> This dance is still played in the villages in Mahārāshṭra by young girls aged 7—9 years. It is called Jhāṃpā-pāṇi, another variant of the same mode of dance being Jhimnā.



The expression 'tyāga-jagaj-jhampa' is also common in several Śilāhāra,<sup>11</sup> Kalachurya<sup>12</sup> and Yādava<sup>13</sup> inscriptions.

Even taking that the meaning attributed to this expression as given by different scholars is correct there arises the difficulty of interpreting the words Jhampadāchārya which are often followed by this expression and have not been satisfactorily explained. From the manner in which this phrase is used in these plates it appears that some reference is meant here to some person. The same conclusion can be arrived at from the Narendra<sup>14</sup> inscription of Jayakeśi where his liberality is compared to that of a Jhampadāchārya. In the Goa Plates<sup>15</sup> of Shashṭha II, Jayakeśi is said to have borne the burden of his kingdom like a Jhampadāchārya. That Jhampada could be a personal name is supported by the fact that the name of a Prime Minister Jhampada Prabhu is mentioned in two inscriptions of Śilāhāra Sōmēśvara, namely in the Rānvaḍ (Uraṇ)<sup>16</sup> and Chānje<sup>17</sup> inscriptions which are dated Śaka 1181 and 1182 respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Bhāndup plates of Chhittarāja, Saka 948 (line 18), *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 251 ff.; Berlin Museum Plates of Chhittarāja, Saka 956, (line 29), *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. 90, p. 265 ff.; Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Mummuni, Saka 982, (line 37), *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 53 ff.; Khārepāṭan Plates of Anantapāla, Saka 1016 (line 61), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33 ff.; Vadavalli Plates of Aparākka, Saka 1049, (line 39), *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505 ff.; Cintrā inscription of Aparākka, Saka 1059, (line 5), *Festgabe Dr. Jacobi*, p. 189.

<sup>12</sup> The title 'Rāya-jaga-jhampam' is used for Kalachurya Bhillama, in his Muttagi Inscription (B) of A.D. 1189, (line 37), *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

<sup>13</sup> The title 'Ari-rāya-jaga-jhampa-kampanā-chārya' is used for Yādava Rāmachandra, in his Kuruva Inscription, HL. No. 17, *Epi. Carn.*, Vol. VII, p. 282. Similar titles occur in the Khidrāpur inscription of Yādava Singhana, Saka 1136, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XII, p. 7. 'Rāya-jaga-jhampa' for Yādava Kanhara (Krishna) in his Māmdāpur inscription, Saka 1172, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 298 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 278-9. Inscription E.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280 ff. Inscription F.



In all probability therefore the origin of the expression 'tyāgajagaj-jhāmpa' is to be sought in the glorification of a person whose name must have been Jhāmpadāchārya. He may have been some hero whose name is retained in the conventional title, for it was very often the practice in ancient India to compare the valour of kings with some old heroes like Rāma, Pārtha (Arjuna), Indra, etc. The out-of-the-way phrase, it seems likely, must have come into use for the sake of alliteration by the poets who composed *praśastis* and at a later period only the expression 'tyāga-jagaj-jhāmpa' was retained, forgetting the hero qualified by it in the days of yore.

The popularity of the expression as noticed in the inscriptions is also to be found in the literature of the period.<sup>18</sup>

Who this Jhāmpadāchārya was, only further research would enable us to know and in the present stage of our knowledge we can do nothing further than to offer this suggestion of his being some unknown hero.

The next king mentioned in our record is Nāgavarman. Beyond the fact that he was married to Mālavya-dēvī, our record has nothing much to offer except some panegyric. The verse which describes him thus in lines

<sup>18</sup> Svabhraṃ sindhura-bhugnayā vasudhayā bhūmim bhaṭ-  
āughair-divaṃ Sapti-kshipta-rajō-bharēṇa pidadhē sō-yaṃ jagaj-  
jhāmpaṇaḥ.

Udayaprabha, *Sukṛita Kirtti Kallōlinī*, (G.O.S., No. X),  
verse 32. cited by Barnett. *op. cit.*, p. 198.

In *Sisūpāla-vadha*, a Mahānubhāva work of the XII century, the title "Jaga-jhampu" is used for a king. Cf. verse 154. "उषटेऽत्र देवा जगम्पु" refers to *Mahārāshṭra Śabda-Kośha*, p. 1260.

<sup>19</sup> In connection with the title adopted by the Śilāhāras, it is interesting to observe that Al'Masudi, an Arab traveller of the tenth century A.D., refers to (Śilāhāra) Jhañjha, as the ruling prince of Konkan, who had the title *Zenbil*. Could it be connected with Jhāmpadā which it is not difficult to derive from the latter? It may be mentioned here that Masudi refers to the Rāshtrakūṭas, the overlords of the Śilāhāras, not by their dynastic name but by the title Balhara (Skt. = Vallabha); Renaud, *Memoire sur L'Inde*, p. 220. P. de Courtille, *Les Prairies d'Orient*, tome II, pp. 85—87. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 39, foot note 57.



3-4 has been repeated as verse 7 in the Gaṇdevi inscription and is not important historically.

Next comes Guhalladēva I. The record compares him to Pārtha (Arjuna) in valour and states that he had even killed a tiger with his own fists. In fact, this description of this prince is met with in several other inscriptions of his successors. The verses describing him in this manner are identical with vv. 8-9 of the Gaṇdevi inscription. Verse 10 describes him in the usual laudatory fashion. He was like a Rudra, praised by beautiful damsels and he was the husband of Gauravyadēvi. It is evident from this description that the poet who composed the verse was tempted to compare him thus, on account of the name of his wife Gaurī, which is also the name of the wife of Rudra (Śiva). The same verse also appears in the Gaṇdevi inscription and the editor of the latter record has suggested<sup>20</sup> that the names of these queens like Gauravyadēvi and Mālavyadēvi, appear to be epithetic and not exactly proper names. This argument does not appear to be a convincing one. Guhalla is further said to have brought the earth under one parasol, i.e., consolidated several smaller kingdoms under his own rulership. He is further compared to Indra in verse 8. Verses 6, 7 and 9 from this inscription are identical with vv. 8, 9 and 10 respectively of the Gaṇdevi inscription.

In the next verse is introduced Shashṭha II, the father of the donor of the present plates. He is extolled for having several virtues and qualities in the usual way. He was very pious and is said to have made various donations to Brahmins. He visited several places of pilgrimage and bestowed gifts according to the Vedic rites. Amongst the places he visited, mention is made of the shrine of Mahā-Lakshmī at Kollāpura and the deity at Gōkarna. He also worshipped the Sōmeśvara shrine (at Prabhāsa) by crossing the sea and is further stated to

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Report*, Arch. Dept., Baroda State, 1938-39, p. 11.



have distributed wealth at Sthānaka. The mention of these places, which are even to this day great centres of pilgrimage, is very interesting. Their mention in one verse, it appears to us, has something more than the interest of an ordinary pilgrim, which would be better understood if we study the political conditions of this period.

It is well known that one of the most important dynasties that were ruling in the Deccan during this period were the Kolhāpur and Thāṇā branches of the Śilāhāras. These two branches were often at war with each other. Chhittarāja, the North Konkan ruler, who was a contemporary of Kadamba Shashṭha II, was known for his vying with the other brotherly rulers (*dāyāda-vairi-vyasana*) as is indicated by the copper plate grants of his successors.<sup>21</sup> In them he is stated to have uplifted the Śilāhāra family from its very infancy. Probably taking advantage of the rivalry between the Kolhāpura and the Thāṇā houses of the Śilāhāras, Shashṭha II seems to have inflicted a defeat on both of them, a fact which is corroborated by the Narendra inscription<sup>22</sup> of one of his successors Jayakēśin.

This accounts for the probability of Shashṭha's being able to visit the shrine at Kolhapur and the bestowing of gifts at Sthānaka (modern Thāṇā), the respective capitals of the two branches of the Śilāhāras. His alliance with the Northern branch of the Śilāhāras also explains the visit to the famous shrine of Sōmanātha at Prabhāsa in Kāṭhiawād, which he would not have reached without coming into conflict with the strong naval power such as the Śilāhāras had. The alliance brought about by Shashṭha II seems to have culminated in his marriage<sup>23</sup> with a

<sup>21</sup> Khārēpāṭaṇ Plates of Anantapāla, Saka 1016, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> Narendra inscription of Jayakēśin, Saka 1047, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 298 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*



daughter of Mummuri(ṇi), the younger brother of Chhittarāja, whose Prince of Wales Museum plates were published in *Ep. Ind.* recently.<sup>24</sup>

Shashṭha's visit to the shrine of Sōmanāth is referred to in several other Kadamba inscriptions and is again corroborated by the finding of the Gaṇdevi inscription which as the internal evidence of it would indicate was incised on his way (*mārggē*; line 28) to the shrine.

The verses that follow describe Shashṭha's adventures in a very highly poetic style. Some of these verses, viz., 10, 11, 12, 15, 16 and 18 are identical with verses 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 respectively, in the Gaṇdevi inscription.

The next king mentioned after Shashṭha II, is Guhalladēva II; the donor of these plates. He is described as having defeated seven Malaya kings and said to have brought them under one canopy, and resembled a *chakravartin*. We have no means to ascertain whether this refers to some actual incident or whether it is merely a conventional praise. In the Gaṇdevi inscription, Shashṭha II, is said to have conquered the kings of Saurāshṭra, Aṅga, Kalinga, Mālava, Mahārāshṭra, Āndhra and Vindhya; and it is possible that a reference is meant here to these seven kings in this praise.

This king, the record further states, was honoured by the feudatories *like* the king.

A point that deserves attention in this connection is the succession of Guhalladēva II. It is nowhere stated in the inscription that Guhalla was actually ruling over Goa when the present inscription was incised. This inscription is dated Śaka 960 and the date of the Gaṇdevi inscription of his father Shashṭha II is Śaka 964, *i.e.*, four years after the present inscription. This shows that

<sup>24</sup> Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Mummuni, Śaka 971, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 53 ff. That the Sōmēśvara shrine was also held in veneration by the Silāhāra kings can be seen from the donation made to the same temple by Silāhāra Aparāditya in Śaka 1107, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 277. Inscription D.



Guhalla's father was still living when the present grant was made. How could it be that Guhalladēva II, was entitled to make a grant even when his father was living?

Our inscription cannot be a spurious one. Its date, as we have seen above is correctly recorded; most of the events narrated by these plates are corroborated by other inscriptions of the Kadamba family. The paleography of the plates also does not go against its age. Most of the places mentioned in it, as will be shown below, can be satisfactorily located as stated in the inscription. The genuineness of the plates therefore cannot be doubted. The probable explanation of the grant by Guhalla II, during the life-time of his father Shashṭha II, seems to be that Shashṭha must have entrusted to him the management of the affairs of the state while starting for his pilgrimage to Sōmanātha. From the Gaṇdevi inscription it appears that this expedition must have come to an end sometime in Śaka 964. As the distance from Goa to Prabhāsa is considerable, it must have taken three or four years' time for Shashṭha to complete the journey and the present grant was made by Guhalladēva II during the absence of his father from Goa. Some expressions like *rāj-ēva rājñā bahumāna-pātra* (line 37), lead us to believe that Guhalladēva must not have been a full-fledged king. The inscription does not refer to him as a *yuvārāja*, and on this point the record is not so explicit as it should have been.

The succession of Guhalladēva II can again be doubted, as his name is omitted in all the subsequent records of the Kadamba family. Jayakēśin I, son of Shashṭha II, is stated to have succeeded his father somewhere before Śaka 974, as is clear from an (unpublished) inscription at Gudikatti,<sup>25</sup> in the Sampagaon Taluka of the Dharwar district, where his name appears as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* under the Western Chālukya Emperor Sōmēśvara. There

<sup>25</sup> Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanerese Districts*, p. 436; Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 178; cf. also *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1925-26, pp. 93.



is thus an interval of only nine years between the last known date for Shashṭha II (as seen from his Gaṇdevi inscription) and the earliest known record for Jayakeśin I. If at all Guhalladēva II succeeded to the throne of his father Shashṭha II, it must have been within this short interval of 9 years which also account for the omission of his name from the later Kadamba records.

In the light of this discussion, supported by the date of the Gaṇdevi inscription, the genealogy of the Goa Kadambas as given in the *Kadamba Kula*, chart opposite page 167, needs a revision. This chart gives the names of Guhalla II and Shashṭha II, before Jayakēśin I. These two names, at least that of Shashṭha (II), has to be omitted, for there is no reason to believe that any other king would have succeeded the Goa throne during the interval of nine years as shown above.

Shashṭha II did not leave Guhalla II all alone to manage the affairs of the state but the latter was also aided by a *mantrimaṇḍala*. From the point of view of Kadamba administration the formation of this assembly of ministers is very interesting. The names of the members of this assembly are recorded in lines 49—53 of this inscription. The various offices held by different persons were as follows:

Chchhatṭhamai	... Chief Śrīkarāṇa and Devaṇai.
Shashṭha-rāja	... Adhyaksha (President).
Gōvinda	... His assistant (Upādhyaksha?)
Śrī-Yamai	... Pradhāna (Minister).
Dāma Pai	... ? (Minister?)
Mādhava(?)	... ? (Minister?)
Khenta Pai	... Mahalla ( ? ).
Bha (Sa?) lla Pai	... Sāndhi-Vigrahika (Minister in charge of Peace and Wars).
Gōvardhana	... Purōdhas (Priest).



The organization of this council with its various officers shows how systematic the administration must have been. Shashtha rāja, who is mentioned here as the President of the Council, could have been no other than king Shashtha II, himself, who as we have seen above had gone on pilgrimage, and during whose absence this grant was incised. What the office of Mahalla was we do not know. All these Ministers are stated in the grant to be well-versed in polity.

As regards the geographical places mentioned in the grant, Gōkarṇa, Kollāpura, Sthānaka and the Sōmeśvara shrine are all too well known places to need any identification. The village *Kāri*, which is described in the grant as a village of Brahmins is modern Keri, and is better known by its Portugese name Querim. The *Tāsa vishaya* in which this was situated cannot be identified as there are no villages resembling this name in the neighbourhood of Querim. At present the part in which Querim is situated is called Tisa-Wāḍi, which is evidently a modern name derived from a group of thirty villages. It is probable therefore that Tāsa may have been the ancient name of the present Tisa-wāḍi. *Chandra-pura* which is described as vying with the city of Indra is modern Chandor in the neighbourhood of Goa under Salsette and is well known to have several archaeological remains. *Sāuvai*, the granted village which was included in one of the corners of village Veraka and therefore formed a part of it, is the same as Savai-verē, where the present plates were found. As is common with the names of many villages, the names Sāvai and Veraka have now combined to form only one village which goes by the joint name Savai-verē. Among the

<sup>26</sup> I am obliged to Mr. Ramchandra P. Vaidya, of Querim, Ponda, Goa, for confirming my identification of these villages from the map published along with the "Times of India" *Illustrated Guide to Goa* by Mr. J. S. Parreira. (Times of India Press, Bombay, 1931). I am particularly obliged to him for the information regarding Sāvai and Vere which he stated as two different villages now brought close together by the extensive population.



boundaries of this there are several places which cannot be satisfactorily made out from the plates themselves. Of these Surula-vada-pāṭaka which was to the south-east of the granted village is obviously modern Surala (Surla of the maps.) Gaṁdha-Vāruṇī, which literally means a river is now represented by a small stream flowing to the south-west of Sāvai-verē as indicated in the inscription. Bettagi, which is said to be a village by the side of a stream is the same as Betgui in the maps in the north-east direction and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Sāvai-verē. The village referred to as lying to the west and the name of which is only partially preserved on the plates is probably Valvoi of the maps.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Vv. 1, 2; *Upēndravajrā*; Vv. 3, 4, 6, 9, 22, 25, *Upajāti*; V. 5 *Mālinī*; Vv. 7, 8, 11—14, 16, 17, 40, 41; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Vv. 10, 20, 21, 23, 24, 35; *Vasanta-tilakā*; Vv. 15, 18, *Sragdharā*; Vv. 19, 46. *Śikharīṇī*; Vv. 26, 27, 29, 30, 31—34, 36—38, 42, 43, 47; *Anuśṭubh*; V. 28, *Indravajrā*; V. 45, *Śālinī*.]

*First Plate; Second Side.*

1. \*\*राज्य\*\*\*\*वर्गः । स कं (ट) काचार्य इनि(ति) प्रसिद्धो यथाप्रयोगं फलितत्रिवर्गः ॥ [१॥\*] प्र(दत्त)-
2. (भूपा) इव कीर्त्तयोस्य सप्तांसु(बु)धीनामपि पारमीयुः । प्रतिष्टि(ष्ठि) तानेकविपन्नभूपः स(भं) पडाचा—
3. यं यथार्थनामा ॥ [२॥\*] तस्मादभूत्पुत्रवरो नरेदो(न्द्रो) नायव्यदेव्याम-मरेंद्रकल्पः । प्रतापमाहात्म्यवि—
4. वेक (भू) मि (मिः) ।<sup>2</sup> श्री नागवर्म्मा भुवि पुण्यकर्म ॥ [३॥\*] असे (शे) षसा(शा) स्वरागमनीतिदृ(स्वा) साहित्यविद्यानिल-
5. यो गुणाढ्यः । त्रिवर्गसंसाधन संप (प्र) दायः क्षोणीभुजां स्वे(शे) खर-तां(ता)मवाप ॥ [४॥\*] गुरुरि-
6. व व(व)हुदृस्वा(श्वा) विश्वकर्म्मैव शिल्पी मुनिरिव सू (शु) चिसां (शा)न्तः पुष्पधन्वेव कां(का)न्तः । भु-
7. वनविदितकीर्न्तिः (र्त्तिः) कीर्त्तं (र्त्तं) नीयो नृपाणां (णा)मभवदसमस- (श)र्म्मा क्षमापतिन्ना(र्त्ता)गवर्म्मा ॥ [५॥\*]
8. अनन्यसाधारणलक्षणायां मालव्यदेव्यामतिरूपवत्याम् । गूहल्लदेवो (ऽ) जनि तेन पुत्रः पार्थ-
9. द्वितीयः प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ॥ [६॥\*] येनाघानि कृतां (ता)न्तघोरवदनो व्याघ्रः स्वय (यं) मुष्टिभिर्येना (म्) ।<sup>4</sup>
10. त्रिविजिगीषुणा विदधिरे दिक्पालसे(शे)षा दिसः (शः) । यस्याद्यापि सुरेंद्र-सुंदरवधूवृंदैर्यसो(शो)गी(य)-

<sup>1</sup> From original plates and ink-impressions.

<sup>2</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> *Danda* indicating the continuation of the word in the next line.



11. ते सो (ऽ) भूद्रसमो<sup>5</sup> गुहल्लनृपतिगौ<sup>6</sup> रव्यदेवीपतिः ॥ [७ ॥\*] यः सा (शा) तक्रतवीय विक्रममपि प्रोल्लंघ (यंस्ते)

12. जसा संरक्षत्रकृतोभया (यां) भुवमिमामेकातपत्रीकृतां (ताम्) । सा (आ)-  
सिंधोरवनीद्रवं (वं) धुरसितः सेव्यैः (सदा-)

*Second Plate; First Side.*

13. (पू) जितः संसंभे व (व) हुमानतां स नृपतिर्नीतिज्ञ चूडामणिः ॥ [८ ॥\*]  
जगन्नाथार्च्य गुणाच्चिताया (यां) गौरव्यदेव्यां च पतिव्रता (यां)

14. धर्मावतारोजनि तेन सुतुः श्रीषष्ठराजो जगदेक वं (वं) धु (धुः) ॥ [९ ॥\*]  
आसीदसे (शे) पनरनाथकिरीटकोटिरत्न (च्छ)-

15. टाप्रकरचुम्बि (म्बि) त पादपीठः । षष्ठाह्वय (यः) सहजवर्धिव (द्धि) तवीर-  
वृत्तिर्भर्ता भुवः स चतुरं वु (वु) धि ने (मे) खलायाः ॥ [१० ॥\*] विद्या-<sup>6</sup>

16. नां कुलमंदिरं गुणवतामेकैव विश्रामभूद्वैः<sup>7</sup> सभ्य विवेचकः स्त्रु (श्रु) तिगिरां  
सम्यका (वप) रीक्षागुरुः । नाना-

17. तर्कनिसा (शां) तनिर्मलमतिः प्रौढः कवीनां कविः स्मा (त्तो) नीतिविदां-  
वरो भवदसौ पौराणिक ग्रामणी-

18. : ॥ [११ ॥\*] विप्रैर (वं) ह्यसमैः स्तुतः प्रतिदिनं यः स्नाति गंगाजलैर्विवस्वं  
(श्वं) चाहि (न्हि) कदान कांचनभूतं येनादरिद्रीकृतं (तम्) ॥

19. गत्वा तीर्थमनेकवैदिकविधौ हेमानि दत्त्वा (त्वा) पि योद्धि (वि) द्वद्भ्यः स  
(श) तसो (शो) यथाविधि महादाना-

20. न्य<sup>8</sup> षौ (पो) ड स (श) ॥ [१२ ॥\*] गोकर्णः कनकैर्मुहुर्भगवती चार्या च  
येनाच्चिता श्री कोल्लापुरमेत्य येन स-<sup>9</sup>

21. महालक्ष्मीः (क्ष्मीः) सदा राधिता । येतां (नां) भोनिधिपारगेण भ टा (ग)  
वान्सो (मे) स्व (श्व) रः पूजितो येन स्थानके (क)-

22. मेत्य कांचनमयी वृष्टिः कृता कोटिसः (शः) ॥ [१३ ॥\*] स श्रीमान्दस  
(श) दिग्वधूप्रिययसो (शो) ह (हं) सां (सा) वतंसोल्लसत्यागागाध तडाग-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This word is written both as Gūhalla or Guhalla. Cf. line 8. These variants are also met with in the Gandevis inscription; (op. cit.).

<sup>6</sup> Danda indicating the continuation of the word in the following line.

<sup>7</sup> This word can also be read as सत्यविवेचकः.

<sup>8</sup> Read दानान्यदाष्टोडश as in Gandevis inscription, line 15.

<sup>9</sup> Read श्री महालक्ष्मीः. The worship of Mahālakṣmī has to be taken along with another Goddess (Āryā) that was worshipped by Shashthā II; the restoration श्री महालक्ष्मीः involves a hiatus in the metre of the verse.

<sup>10</sup> Danda indicating the continuation of the word in the next line.



23. तुंगलहरीलीढविलोकीतटः। हेलाविक्रम विकलवाहितवधूते (ने) वाम्बु (म्बु-)  
धारासरितीर्थस्नातकृपाणपालि-

24. तज (य)<sup>11</sup> च्छी (श्री) मूर्त्तिनारायणः ॥ [१४॥ \*] वु (उ) स्त्च (च्चे)  
स्तन्व (न्फ)<sup>12</sup> गालीः समधिकर स(भ) सोत्तान रोमांचकोटि (त्र्युट्य) त्रि (त्रि)

25. मर्मोक्पट्टः सहजतरल (यो) जि (जि) ह्वयोः पाटवेन। नागीभित्री (गीं)  
यभाने गुगगणमसमं यस्य चक्षुःसहस्रैराकण्यकण्यं भूयो वहति फणिव-

26. त्ति (तिः) मेदिनीम्म (मा) दरेण ॥ [१५॥ \*] कूर्म्म (र्म) क्लेस (श) यितु  
(तुं) दिसः (शः) (स्थ) गयितुं पेष्ल<sup>13</sup> (ष्टुं) धरित्रीभृतः सिधु धूलि<sup>14</sup> भरेण कद्  
(दं) मयितुं तेनैव रोधु (दुं) नलः (भः) य (स्या) भू-

27. द्विजय प्रयाणसमये (ये) निर्व्वीरमुव्वी (वीं) व (त) लं कुव्वीगस्य वरुथिनी  
स विदितो वैरीभकण्ठीरवः ॥ [१६॥ \*] वु (वु) मः किम (\*\*ग\*)<sup>15</sup> नृपतिसु (शू) रो

28. (\*ता\*\*मनाम्ने\*हित\*भुजां)<sup>16</sup> प्रियतमाः प्राप्तामपूर्वा दसां (शाम्) ।  
य (न्ने) वांवु (वु) (\*\*\*\*\*सारसि—र—क्षा)

### Second Plate; Second Side.

29. जनैरद्यापींद्र धनुर्भ्रमोदिवि यसो (शो) ह (हं) साध्वगाना (नां) कृतः  
[१७॥] \* राजन्यानामनेकद्रिरदधनघटाकुंभ पी-

30. ठानि यस्मिन्देवे प्रोद्यत्कृपाणे दलयति विपुलं कौतुकं भूतमाजी। चंचत्  
चंचु (पु) टेन त्वरित परि-

31. चलत्पक्षपालीयुरो(गे)त<sup>17</sup> (भं) से (शे) मुक्तामणीनां जलयजलघिया  
धारितं चातकेन ॥ [१८॥ \*] अनुप (दा) म्य क्वापि स्फु-

32. रदसिसहायं निजभुजं अकृत्वाभू (भू) भगं सरलितमनाकृष्य च धनुः। अंसा  
राज्यं<sup>18</sup> करतलगतं ये-<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> This letter is not distinct on the plate.

<sup>12</sup> On the plates this word is written as *mph*, evidently a scribal error.

<sup>13</sup> The scribe forgot to join the *prishtha-mātrā* to the proper letter. This gives it an appearance of *pa* preceded by a *daṇḍa*.

<sup>14</sup> Read सिधु धूलिमरेण

<sup>15</sup> These four *aksharas* in the brackets cannot be deciphered properly.

<sup>16</sup> I am not sure about the reading of the letters enclosed in square brackets. This last line of the plate is considerably damaged.

<sup>17</sup> The lengthening of the short vertical below the loop gives this letter 'ga' an appearance of 'Rā'; but this form is repeated several times in the plates of this set. Cf. *tumga* (line 23), *Shadanga* (line 39).

<sup>18</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Mark of punctuation to show the continuation of the word in the next line.



33. न विहितं स एवैकः सू (शू) रो जगति विजयी ष (ष्ठ) नृपतिः ॥  
[१९॥\*] अक्काभिधा पि (प्रि) यतमा गिरिजेव सं (शं) भोदे (दैं)-

34. वी व (व) भूव नृपतेरभिषेक पूज्या। मा (भा) सूर्यस (श) क्तिरिव स  
(श) क्तिव(व)रः प्रतापी तस्या (स्यां) च तेन ज-

35. नितः स गुहल्लदेवः ॥ [२०॥\*] (आ) त (न) म्रसप्तमलयाधिपमौलि-  
मालालीला विलोल लुव(ठ)दं- ॥

36. द्विसरोजरेणुः। रगा (रंगां) गनानिकर चाव(म)रवीज्यमानः कादम्ब  
(म्ब)-वंस (श) तिलकः स व (व) भू-

37. व भूयः ॥ [२१॥\*] एकातपत्रीकृतभूमिचक्रः स चक्रव(त्तों)व ततान  
तेजः। राजेव राजा व (व)-।<sup>20</sup>

38. दृमान पात्र (त्रं) रराज यो मीं (मां) डलिक<sup>21</sup> त्रिनेत्रः ॥ [२२\*॥]<sup>22</sup>  
कारीति ता<sup>23</sup> (ना ?) सविषये महितो द्विजानां (ग्रा)-<sup>24</sup>

39. मे 'व (व) भूव परमेस्व (श्व)र मंगला (स्वो सा (शा)<sup>25</sup> द्यायनप्रभव  
गोत्रमलंकरिष्ठमा(रें)य भट्टतिलकः स षडं (ग)-

40. वेदः ॥ [२३॥\*] यः प्राप्य चंद्रपु(र) मिद्रपुरातिरेकं श्री वेरके निजनिवास  
मलंचकार। आ<sup>27</sup> त्मीयवंशकु-

41. मुदाकरशीतरस्मिः (श्मिः) स्मालें (त्तै) गु (गुं) णैः सकल कौंकण-(पाव-  
नाय)<sup>28</sup> ॥ [२४॥\*] (घ) म्मद्वितीया सिरिधाभिधाना-

<sup>20</sup> Daṇḍa indicating the continuation of the word in the next line.

<sup>21</sup> The scribe has omitted the loop for medial *i*.

<sup>22</sup> A floral device precedes the *daṇḍas*. This marks the end of the *Praśasti*.

<sup>23</sup> Similarity of forms and confusion between ल and न in these plates, make the alternative reading *Nāsa* as the name of the *Vishaya* probable.

<sup>24</sup> This letter looks like मा in the estampage.

<sup>25</sup> The scribe wrote मै at first, but subsequently restored it correctly to मे by cancelling the *prishṭha-mātrā*.

<sup>26</sup> These words in the brackets read रे वा से as in the original as the scribe has failed to join/or separate the component parts of the *aksharas* properly.

<sup>27</sup> The scribe has not separated this letter from the preceding *daṇḍa*.

<sup>28</sup> A superscript resembling a *repha* appears over 'Pa', which is superfluous.



*Third Plate, First Side.*

42. तस्याभवत्स (व्वं)<sup>29</sup> गुणैरुपेता ॥<sup>30</sup> तस्यामथाजन्यत तेन सूनुरादित्यनामा कमिकोग्निहोत्री ॥ [२५॥\*] अरेवाख्या-
43. च तत्पत्नी दीक्षिता प्रियवादिनी । सर्व्व शुद्धस्वरूपत्वाद्भारतीव रराज या ॥ [२६॥\*] तेन तस्यामजन्येता (तां) तनयो (यो)-
44. पुण्यकर्मणा(णी) । ज्यायां (या) न् गोवर्द्धनो धीमान् पञ्चान्नारायणा-  
ह्वयः ॥ [२७॥\*] जन्मप्रतिज्ञाध्यन प्रसिद्धो गो-
45. वर्द्धनो वर्द्धित पुण्यरासिः<sup>31</sup> (शिः) । राज्ञाग्निचित्सोधिकृतः पुरोधाः पुराण-  
शास्त्रागम पारदृश्वा ॥ [२८॥\*] तेनापि व (व्वं)-<sup>32</sup>
46. सा ने (नी) त (तं) वयसो<sup>33</sup> निजं पदं (दम्) । भ्रात्रे प्रदापया (यां)  
चक्रे तद्गुणार्वाजितो नृपः ॥ [२९॥\*] गोवर्द्धनपदं वि (वि) भ्र (द्भ्रा) त्रे गो-
47. पालस (सं) स्त्र (श्र) यात् । अत एव कथं नाम नारायण इति स्मृतः ॥  
[३०॥\*] यः पट्टवर्द्धन इति प्रस्वि (यि) तः पु-<sup>33</sup>
48. रोधा नारायणः सकल सा (शा) स्त्रविदे (ऽ\*) थ भट्टः । तस्मै ददी  
प्रमुदितः स गुहल्लदेवः । श्री सा-
49. उवै सकल पाटका (क) सा (शा) स (नं) तत् ॥ [३१॥\*] च्छठ्ठमै-  
देवणै नाम्ना मुख्यौ सी (श्री) करणे मती । ष (ष्ठ) रा- ।<sup>32</sup>
50. जस्तद ध्यक्षौ गोवि (न्द) प्रतिहस्तकः । [३२॥\*] प्रवानं श्रीयमेनामा  
दामपै मा(ध) वै तथा । मह (ल्ल ?)-
51. खेन्तपै नामा स (व्वं) मी नयसा(शा) लिनः ॥ [३३॥\*] सा (सां)  
धिविग्रहिको धीमान्भ (न्स ? ) ल्लपै नामविल्लू(श्रु)तः । गोवर्द्धनः ।<sup>32</sup>
52. पुरोधास्तु तत्रासीन्मन्त्रिमंडलं (लम्) ॥ [३४॥\*] गोकर्णमर्णवतटे प्रणि-  
पत्य मूढ्ना दत्ता तुलापुर (रु) (ष) कांचनसंच-
53. येन । एभिः प्रधानै (न) सचिवैरनुगम्यमानो गूहल्ल भूपतिरदादिहं सा(शा)  
सनं त (त्) ॥ [३५॥\*] वेरकस्या (न्तिमे)-

<sup>29</sup> This looks like व्वं in the estampage.

<sup>30</sup> One marn of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>31</sup> The form of medial *ya* in this place is noteworthy.

<sup>32</sup> *Daṇḍa* indicating the continuation of the word in the next line.

<sup>33</sup> Read वयसा<sup>३</sup> The scribe first wrote *So* with a *pristha-mātrā* but subsequently cancelled it.

<sup>34</sup> Mark of punctuation is redundant.

<sup>35</sup> There is a play on the words Govardhana-pada, Gōpala and Nārāyaṇa, in this verse. The *Śleṣha* alludes to the story of the carrying (upholding) of the Govardhana mountain (the foot of the mountain) by Nārāyaṇa (i.e., Krishna) with the aid of Gopālas (cowherds; here King, Protector of Go, i.e., Prithvi).



54. कोणे साउवै पाटकाह्वयं (यम्) (1\*) सर्व्व वा (वा) धाविनिर्भुक्तं ना  
(रा) यणपुरोधसः ॥ [३६॥\*] शासन (नं) तस्य चाघाटाश्च-

*Third Plate;<sup>30</sup> Second Side.*

55. द्विद्वन्मतो इमे ॥<sup>37</sup> इदाग्निधेयदिग्मागे सु (कु ?) रुलं वडपाटकान् ॥ [३७॥\*]  
प्रामीकः कुरुमारस्य वधो वाउल स (1\*)

56. पणिरेदंता वावोर सदुकां बुधिः ॥<sup>38</sup> [३९॥\*] (नं) ऋत्यां गंधवारुण्यां  
वायव्यां (दि) सि (शि) वे (वे) तगी । पाणिलोद्धोवविग्राम-

57. उत्तरेणेतयोर्द्वी ॥ [३९॥\*] षष्ठया (धिव्ये) स (श) क नवशते व  
(त्स) रे चैत्र मा(से) राहुग्रस्ते शसि (शि) नि व (व) हुधान्याब्द (ब्द) के (पौ)-

58. णं<sup>39</sup> णं (णि) मास्यां (स्याम्) । दे (द)<sup>40</sup> त (त्त) राज्ञा सुरगुरुदि (ने)  
भट्टता (ना) रायणाय आचंद्रांकरं निवसतु सुखं शासत (नं) पुत्र पौत्रैः ॥ [४०॥\*] वा ।<sup>41</sup>

59. पीकूपतडाग कंदरदरी (नि) र्यूं (व्यूं) ह सूं (श्रुं) गाटकैः क्षेत्राराम नदीवन-  
प्र (ति) सरैर्वप्रादिभि (भि) भजितो । य संर- ।<sup>41</sup>

60. क्षति सा (शा) सतं (नं) रमतां दातेव ता(ना) के चिरं यो मोहादपहतु  
(त्तुं) (मि)<sup>42</sup> च्छति त (न) रः सु (श्च) भे भूसं '(शं) ति- ।<sup>41</sup>

61. ष्ट (ष्ठ) तु ॥ [४१॥\*] भूमीं (मि) यः प्रतिगृह्णाति (ति\*) यश्च भूमि  
प्रयच्छति (1\*) उभो (भौ) धौ (तौ) पू (पु) (ण्य) क (र्मा) णौ ति (नि) यतं स्व (गं-)

62. गामितौ (नौ) ॥ [४२॥\*] वा (व) (हु) भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता रो (रा) जभिः  
सगरादि (भिः) । यस्य यस्य यदा भु (भू) मिस्तस्य ।<sup>43</sup>

63. तस्य तदा (फ)<sup>44</sup> लं (लम्) ॥ [४३॥\*] स्वदन्तां (तां) परदत्ता (तां)  
वा यो (यो) हरेत वसुंधरा (राम्) ॥<sup>45</sup> स विष्टायां कृमिभूत्वा प (च्य) ते पि- ।<sup>43</sup>

<sup>30</sup> At the top of the plate there are a few words, written in cursive character later than the original record. These read इदं शासन पत्रं यो हरेद the rest are damaged and illegible.

<sup>37</sup> One mark of punctoation superfluous.

<sup>38</sup> I am not sure about the reading of the last 13 and the 12 aksharas in lines 55 and 56 respectively.

<sup>39</sup> This letter is redundant.

<sup>40</sup> The scribe has not separated the letter from the preceeding danda.

<sup>41</sup> Dandas indicating the continuation in the following line.

<sup>42</sup> The scribe has not engraved the loop for medial i.

<sup>43</sup> Danda indicating the continuation in the following liee.

<sup>44</sup> The scribe has not joined the componant parts of the vowel.

<sup>45</sup> One mark of punctuation is unnecessary.



PLATE I(b)

[illegible]

Sāvai—vere Plate First; Second Side.











नाने नद्याषो दुवदुधेभाधि विद्यासाक्षराणां शतम् । गच्छा समनेकं हिन्दुं न ज्ञानमवमुत्तमम् ।  
 गालिद्याशि उवाचा दानपाण दलयाते विमुक्तो न केचन भूयाः । ज्ञातेरववष्टाट न त्वमिदमधि  
 चेतसो दौर्बाहो प्रमानुयासश्च कामा । नो ज्ञानं दत्तं लेख्यामिति तत्रा न कृत्वा । कुतुम्बको धिमुत्त  
 रयमिदमधो न निष्ठुर्लक्ष्मणः । सुभाश्रितमना शब्दावदनुः । क्षमापध्यानाच्च । न तलगतार्थम्  
 कश्चिद्विदसपत्निकः । नृणां भ्रातृविदया प्रष्टयतिः । ब्रह्मविद्याय नमो । गिनितवसनाद  
 दीविद्वद्वयानमिदं प्रष्टुम् । आनन्दयेत्तत्किं नित्यं । क्रिपयः । न गीतस्यापान नष्टम्  
 निद्रं भूयुर्लक्ष्मणः । तस्मै प्रकृत्या विद्याया विद्यालोली । मापिलालुवदम्  
 विद्यानां शतम् । नृणां शतम् । निवनवाभिवशी । ह्यमानुको दक्षवत् । सत्त्वकः । नव  
 वदयम् । एका तपत्री । यत्तस्मिन् । भवत्तु । नृणां शतम् । नृणां शतम् । नृणां शतम्  
 दृष्ट्वा नवावनसा । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम्  
 एवम् । नवावनसा । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम्  
 नैव । नवावनसा । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम्  
 शुभम् । नवावनसा । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम् । विद्यानां शतम्











64. तृति (भिः) सह ॥ [४४॥\*] सामात्यो (न्यो) यं धम्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले  
काले पालनीयो भवदि (दिभः) (स) व्वनितान् (भा\*)-

65. (वि) नःपो (पा) (थि) वेद्रा (न्द्रान्) भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [४५॥\*]  
<sup>46</sup>व्यसोगंगायां कुलपरिवृढो-<sup>47</sup>

66. नृपतिः पिता माधवाली यो वृति (त्ति) वर इति ख्यातमहिमा<sup>48</sup> ।

67. यस्य जननी कवीन्द्र .....<sup>49</sup> व्यरच(यदिदं) शासन पटम् ॥ [४६॥\*]  
उत्किर्ण .....<sup>50</sup>

68. सेविताः । गंगाधरेण लिखितं शासनं ताम्रपट्ट-<sup>47</sup> [४७॥\*] मंगलं  
महाश्रीः ॥<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Only the medial *i* of this letter is visible on the plate.

<sup>47</sup> One letter is damaged here.

<sup>48</sup> About eleven *aksharas* here are badly damaged.

<sup>49</sup> Two letters missing, of which the last seems to be

<sup>50</sup> These eight letters cannot be deciphered as they are not well preserved.

<sup>51</sup> An ornamental device follows the *dandas*.



## JAUNPUR BRICK INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1273

BY

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The following inscription engraved on a large brick 1'—3" by 1'—0" and 3" in thickness, was found some years before 1850 in a field near a village in the Jaunpur district by Captain M. Kittoe. Its text transcribed from the original by Hiranand Pandit and translation by James Ballantyne were published in J.A.S.B., Vol. XIX (1850), pp. 455—456.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is important in several ways and is reproduced here as it throws light on the cultural history of the U.P. It is the only document containing a reference to a particular kind of coin known as the *Shad-boddika drama*. The record is dated in V.S. 1273 Āshāḍha-sudi 6 Ravau = Sunday, 11th June, A.D. 1217.<sup>2</sup>

### TEXT

सस्ति सम्बत् १२७३ आषाढ शुदि ६ रवौ । अद्येह मयूनगय्या धनिकौ नाम्ना मतौ । रा श्री बहो रा श्रीमहादित्यौ । रा डोविसुतौ स्वधनं प्रयुञ्जाते । अतस्सकाशाद्धा-  
रणिको नाम्ना मतः रा गंगदेवो राधानुसुतः पद्मोदिक द्रम्मसहस्रद्वय साद्वं शतद्वयं गृह्णात्यु-  
द्वारेणाङ्केपि द्र २२५० अमीषां द्रम्माणां विश्वासार्थं च प्रवापिणी स्वकपट्टिका बन्धके  
प्रदत्ता ॥ अस्मिन् पत्रे चोद्धारणिकहस्तेन स्वमत मारोपयति मतं मम । अत्राप्यो राणक  
श्रीवाघदेवः ॥ राजोपरोहेण-रादेवादित्य राधौरि राकुमनपाल राविलास राप्रजयन् एते  
साक्षिणः कृताः पूताश्च लिखितं चेदमुभयानुमतेन दिवाश्रीसोढलेन दिवाहाटपुत्रेण दिग्धा-  
क्षरमविवृताक्षरं वा ततोपि प्रमाणमिति ॥

### TRANSLATION

Hail! In the year (*Samvat*) 1273, on Sunday, the 6th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, this day, here in

<sup>1</sup> The photograph of the epigraph was not published and the inscription never re-edited. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions*, No. 468.



*Mayūnagarī*, the two bankers known by the names of *Rā Śrī Bamha*<sup>3</sup> and *Rā Śrī Mahāditya*, the two sons of *Rā Dovi*, are investing their money (as follows).

The borrower (*dhāraṇika*) from them, known by the name of *Rā Gaṅgadeva*, son of *Rā Dhānu*,<sup>4</sup> takes as a loan (*uddhāreṇa*) two thousand, two hundred and fifty *śadvoddika*<sup>5</sup> *drammas*—in figures *dra* 2,250; and as security for these *drammas*, he gives in pledge the cultivated land which is his own share. And on this deed (inscribed brick), by his own hand, the borrower places his assent thus—"This is my signature."

The surety (*āpta*), in this transaction is *Rāṇaka Śrī Vāghadeva*, subject to such binding as enforced by the king. *Rā Devāditya Rā Dhauri*, *Rā Kumanapāla*, *Ra Vilāsa* and *Rā Prajayan*—these are made witnesses and purified (*pūtāḥ*). And this is written, with the consent of both parties, by *Dhivā Śrī-Soḍhala*, son of *Dhivā Hātā*. If the letters get smudged or undecipherable, still the matter is valid.

### NOTES

In the above translation I have departed from that of Ballantyne in several places, specially where the rendering of technical terms proper to such documents was involved. My main source of information on these points is the *Lekhapaddhati*,<sup>6</sup> which is a useful collection of model draft deeds of legal and political transactions and is of great linguistic and historical interest. The documents in the *Lekhapaddhati* are almost contemporaneous with the present inscription and although drafted in the province of Gujarat were typical of the period, hence their

<sup>3</sup> The text prints कम्हो but the translation gives *Bahma*, which I think should be the correct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The translation gives *Dhāmi*, which seems to be a printer's error for *Dhānu*.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling in the text is शद्वोदिक but in the translation *śadvoddika*.

<sup>6</sup> *Lekha-paddhati*, edited by C. D. Dalal and published in the Gaekwad Oriental Serits, Baroda, 1925. Rs. 2.



striking agreement with epigraphic records of a similar nature. As observed by Dr. Ballantyne the form of this mortgage-deed is simple, and bears the stamp of honesty; it is drawn up, signed, and agreed to, before witnesses, and securities furnished for the fulfilment of the agreement. These formalities are observed in other documents preserved in the *Lekhapaddhati* and also in the inscriptions.

## NOTES

1. पत्र—A document; this is the word for formally written instruments effecting legal disposition. A deed like ours according to the *Lekhapaddhati* would be called. क्षेत्राङ्गणकपत्र, i.e., a deed mortgaging cultivated land (p. 39). It is a species of the व्यवहारपत्र, (p. 33) or आधिपत्र mortgage deeds (pp. 42-43), which in one place are given an explanatory title, viz., आधीकृत वस्तूनामुपरि गृहीत द्रव्यपत्रविधि (p. 19).

2. मयूनगरी—The name of the village where the transaction took place. Unfortunately Capt. M. Kittoe does not mention the find-place of the inscription which could help in identifying the place. मयु seems to be the Sanskritised form of an Austric place name ending, viz., मऊ which is common enough in the districts of Oudh and round about. We have Singrāmau in Jaunpur, Mau in Azamgarh, Bangarmau in Unao, Phāphāmau near Allahabad, Mau in Banda, Mau tehsil in Jhansi and Mau (modern Mhow) near Indore. We find मायुक as a place-name ending in the grammatical literature; e.g., आप्रीतमायु ((Bhāshya, IV. 2. 104. 27) the town of the Āprītās or Afridis.

3. धनिक—Creditor, also called व्यवहारक

4. रा —According to *Lekhapaddhati* it was an abbreviature for राजपुत्र (p. 101); in an inscription of V.S. 1288 it is written रा० (p. 7); in another inscription of V.S. 802 it is written राज०; it seems to be equivalent to राजपूत, the common designation of the Kshattriya peasantry and landowning class.



5. स्व घनं प्रयुञ्जाते— A standard formula used for money-lending business, cf. घनिकः लाभाय स्वघनं प्रयुञ्क्ते (*Lekh.* p. 21). According to वैजयन्ती the root प्रयुज् had the technical sense of lending money—प्रयोक्तारि उत्तमर्णकः (p. 123).

6. धारणिक— a debtor, same as उद्धारणिक one who takes उद्धार (Hindi उधार) used subsequently in the inscription, and अर्थ धारणिक (*Lekh.* p. 20). The *Medinī Kosha* defines उद्धार as उद्धारश्चोद्धृतावृणो (p. 36). The Skt root धारि had been used in the sense of 'to owe' from the time of Pāṇini (धारेरुत्तमर्णः)

7. विश्वासार्थ— For the sake of gurantee; its synonym is प्रत्ययार्थ in other documents.

8. आप्त— A surety or guarantee; same as प्रतिभू according to लेखपद्धति (p. 21); the वैजयन्ती records the technical meaning of आप्त-प्रत्ययित, one who is furnished as a security (ग्रहीतव्यमर्णस्यादाप्तः प्रत्ययितस्समौ ।)

9. प्रवापिणी— Translated as 'cultivated land' after Ballantyne; but the word may have had the technical sense of 'voluntary surrender' as we may infer from वैजयन्ती (p. 93) explaining प्रवापणं काम्यदानं ।

10. स्वकपट्टिका— Same as Hindi पट्टी, one's share of landed property.

11. पत्र— a general term for documents of loan, as आधिपत्र, व्यवहारपत्र, अड्डाणकपत्र (mortgage deed, *Lekh.* p. 37, 39).

12. मत्त— either signature, or oral consent as much valid in the eye of law as written signature; in the latter sense equal to सम्मत (*Medinī*, p. 58). Sf. also तेषां स्वहस्तेन दत्तमतानि (लेखपद्धति p. 21)

13. राजोपरोद्देण— A somewhat obscure expression; Ballantyne's rendering—'such a one as a king might be content with' seems to be without good sense. I take the expression to go with the surety and not to qualify the witnesses. The surety offered is bound with such conditions as can be enforced by the king or law. It was an idiomatic expression to reinforce and clarify the position of the persons standing surety. In the *Lekh.* (p. 35 and 43) there is another expression used in a similiar context



with respect to the giving of sureties, e.g., सामान्यग्राहकाचारेण दत्तप्रतिभूः, i.e., he has been made a guarantee according to the usual practice of the debtors, were ग्राहकण is equal to अधमर्ण (cf. ग्रहीतव्यमर्णः स्यात्, वैजयन्ती) ।

14. साक्षिणः कृताः पूताश्च—The witnesses were appointed and then 'purified', (पूताः), i.e., administered an oath to remain strictly impartial.

15. उभयानुमतेन—a regular formula of such formal bonds written with the free and unfettered consent of both parties.

16. दिग्धाक्षरम् अविवृताक्षरम्— i.e., the text becoming smeared over or remaining indistinct or unintelligible; equal to the हीनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा सदैव प्रमाणमवगन्तव्यम् (*Lekh.* p. 33).

17. षड्वोदिक द्रम्म—2250 coins known as the *Shad-boddika drammās* were given on loan. It is the only inscription in which this particular *dramma* is mentioned. In the Siyadonī list of medieval coins we have (1) पंचियक द्रम्म (2) विग्रहपाल द्रम्म (3) श्रीमदादिवराहद्रम्म (4) काकिणी (4) कपदक and (5) विसोपक । The value, weight and identification of these coins in medieval Indian numismatics has not yet been worked out. The षड्वोदिक द्रम्म, as its name implies, must have been equal in value to 6 *boddikas*. The वोडिक or वोडिक coin is referred to in the मृच्छकटिक (Act VIII, verse 40) in a list in which the सुवर्ण and the कार्षापण are also enumerated :

अतथं शतं देमि सुवर्णं दे

कहावणं देमि शवोडिकं दे ।

(अर्थं शतं ददामि सुवर्णकं ते कार्षापणं ददामि शवोडिकं ते)

These appear to be coins respectively of gold (सुवर्ण) silver (कार्षापण) and copper (वोडिक); hence it may be taken for granted that the षड्वोडिक द्रम्म was a small copper coin equal in value to 6 *bodikas*. Hemachandra in his *Prākṛta* grammar refers in a very casual manner to a वोडिडा coin—

केमरि न लहइ वोडिडा अवि,

गय लक्खेहि धेप्यंति ।

i.e., no one takes the lion even for a वोडिडा; where as the elephant is sold for lacs.



Here the बोड्डिआ is spoken of as a contemptible value and it must be taken to be related to the copper currency. Now in the Bengali arithmetical table based on the *Kauri* or *Karā* we have the following:—

4 Karās=1 Gaṇḍā

5 Gaṇḍā=1 Buri

4 Buris=1 Paṇa

16 Paṇas=1 Kāhāwan

In the above table kara is kaparda or *kaurī*, and Buri seems to be बोड्डिआ which would give 1 *Bodika* =20 kauris or Kapardas. As 4 Buris make one Paṇa, one Buri or *Bodika* would be equal to one-quarter Paṇa. Another name for one-quarter of a Paṇa was Kākiṇi (cf. काकणी पणपादेपि, मेदिनी p. 88) which was equal to 20 Kauris (कपर्दनां च विंशती काकिणी). Therefore the बोडिक was the same coin as काकिणी which is already referred to in the Siyadoni epigraph with its component value in terms of बराटक or कौडी. The बोडिक or काकिणी being equal to one-fourth of a पण, षड्बोदिक द्रम्म must have been equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Paṇa or 120 Kauris. Sixteen Paṇas were equal to 1 Kāhāwan or Kārshāpaṇa (of silver) (*vide* Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 19, f. n. 3), hence the षड्बोदिक द्रम्म must have been  $\frac{3}{32}$  of a silver Kārshāpaṇa in value. Most probably the Hindi छदाम (*Chhadam*) seems to be derived from षड्द्रम्म which was the same as षड्बोदिक द्रम्म।

The exact significance and identification of this particular coin requires to be determined after a detailed examination of the many kinds of medieval currencies prevailing both in silver and copper alongside of the Adivarāha and Vighrahapala drammas in a great variety of weights. The subject is highly important and needs specialised investigation.



A FIRMAN OF SHAH ALAM DATED 1759 A.D.

BY

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It is a translation of a Farman of Shah Alam II regarding the grant of 225 bighas of land in the Parganah Kakori, Distt Lucknow to Munshi Bhawani Prasad, Zorawar Singh, Kirpa Ram, Ram Nawaz and others to lay garden and sink well for their maintenance. The Imperial seal of 1173 A.H., A.D. 1759, is on the right hand and the *tughra* of the king's name is to its left. The dedication is at the top.

(Dedication) In the name of the most holy, high and glorious God.

(Seal) He who is victorious, Abu al-Muzaffar Jalaluddin Shah Alam Bādshāh Ghazi Year One 1173 A. H. son of Alamgīr Bādshāh, son of Jahandar Badshah, son of Shah Alam Bādshāh, son of Alamgir Badshah, son of Shāhjahān Bādshāh, son of Jahangir Badshah, son of Akbar Badshah, son of Humayun Badshah, son of Babar Badshah, son of Umar Shaikh Shah, son of Sultan Abu Said Shah, son of Sultan Mohammad Shah, son of Miran Shah, son of Amir Taimur Sahib Qiran.

(Tughra) Abu Muzaffar Jalal uddin Shah Alam,  
the King, the hero!

(The body of the Farman)

In this auspicious time a royal mandate of high dignity and proper to be submitted to was promulgated (to the effect) that we have conferred on Bhawani Prasad, Zorawar Singh, Kirpa Ram, Ram Nawaz and others including their sons, (successors) the qanungos of Parganah



place in the Bombay Presidency on the banks of the Narbada, from where none of the numerous Vākāṭaka inscriptions have been discovered.

According to Dr. Jaiswal the town from which the Vākāṭakas derive their name is the modern village of Bijaur Bāgāta in the Tahrauli tehsil of Orchha State in Central India.<sup>12</sup> It is 7 miles east of Chirgaon in Jhansi district. There is a mention of the Vindhya and Kailakilā dynasties in the Purāṇas.<sup>13</sup> Dr. Jayaswal identified both of them with the Vākāṭaka dynasty of inscriptions. The river Kilkilā flowing between the regions Panna and Nagaud, in his opinion, gave the name Kailakilā to the dynasty which ruled in the beginning on the region around its banks. The Vākāṭakas thus originally belonged to the Vindhya region and their first king Vindhyaśakti, whose name indicates the Vindhya origin, adopted the name of his town Bagaṭa as his family title.<sup>14</sup>

Keeping in view the fact that the Vākāṭakas are known to exist originally in western part of Central India it will not be wrong to suppose that Bāgāta in Orchha State was the original home of the Vākāṭakas. It is not far from the Panna-Ajayagarh region where the early Vākāṭaka records have been found. The word Bāgāta itself suggests some connection with the Vākāṭaka dynasty, which might have derived its name from the name of its original town. In the modern village of Bāgāta itself and in the surrounding area there are numerous ancient relics and there is every probability that this was the original habitat of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

The earliest mention of the word Vākāṭaka occurs in two votive inscriptions from Amravati of about the middle of 2nd century B.C.<sup>15</sup> Inscription No. 8 reads as *Pākoṭakanam* (gift of the Pākoṭakas), and in inscription

<sup>12</sup> K. P. Jaiswal, *History of India*, p. 6 and 68.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67-68.

<sup>14</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48—50.

<sup>15</sup> Published by R. P. Chanda, *E.I.*, XV, pp. 258 ff.



No. 27 is mentioned the gift made by a householder (*gahapati*) along with his wife and other people. On the evidence of these two inscriptions Dr. Jaiswal thinks that the Vakāṭaka dynasty can be traced in Deccan as early as about 150 B.C. He takes the word Vākāṭaka of Amravati inscription in the sense of 'the original inhabitant of Bagāṭa, which according to him ought to have been a famous town in 2nd century B.C., being associated with the epic hero Droṇāchārya. But in lack of any reliable evidence this view is hardly commendable. It should be noted that the above mentioned Amravati inscriptions are only local votive records referring to the gifts mostly made by the local people and some of them being made by the neighbouring people. The town of Bagāṭa in Orchha State is at a considerable distance from Amravatī. Again, if Bagāṭa had been an important town in 2nd century B.C., it must have found a reference in some of the numerous votive inscriptions of the period, which mention the names of towns like Ujjaini, Vidiśā, Dhānyakāṭaka and Śorparaka (Sopara). But Bagāṭa is conspicuous by its absence in the inscription of the 2nd century B.C.

The word 'Pakoṭaka' of the inscription No. 8 appears to be a clan or tribal name while 'Vākāṭaka' of No. 27 seems to be a personal name of the householder who made the gift along with his wife, etc. Though from the close resemblance between the two terms Pakoṭaka and Vākāṭaka it may be inferred that both of them denote one and the same name, *pa* being interchangeable to *ba*, yet from the way in which 'Vākāṭaka' has been used in the inscription No. 8, it is inappropriate to identify Vākāṭaka, a personal name with Pakoṭaka, a tribal name. Jaiswal's theory which seeks to connect this Vākāṭaka of the Amravati inscription with the Vākāṭaka dynasty of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. cannot be said to be correct, as there is no convincing evidence to support it. There is no reference to be found of any Vākāṭaka clan in inscriptions or



in literature up to about the middle of third century A.D. Thus there is a difference of more than 400 years between the period of Amravatī inscription, when the term Vākāṭaka occurs, and that of the earliest inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka kings. Thus there is no warrant to assume that the Vākāṭaka clan of the 3rd—4th centuries A.D. had any connection with the words Vākāṭaka or Pākoṭaka of Amravatī inscriptions.

Up to about the middle of 4th century A.D. the Vākāṭaka dynasty was powerful in Central India, where its earliest records have been found. From the time of Samudragupta when Gupta power became supreme in Northern India, Vākāṭaka influence, if any, began to dwindle away, and the latter gradually began to penetrate southwards. From the last quarter of the 4th century A.D., the Vākāṭakas became powerful in C.P. and Berar, as is confirmed by the epigraphical evidence. From this time onwards the Vākāṭakas had a number of their seats of government like Pravarapur, Nandivardhan, Padmapur and Vatsagulma,—all of which were located in C.P. and Berar.



## LAURENCE BINYON

Laurence Binyon, C.H., the great exponent of Asiatic art, passed away on March 10, 1943 at the age of seventy-three years. His was a life of which the maturity was given equally to letters and the visual arts of Europe and the East. Of its wide range and varied fruits it is here suitable to consider only his contributions to the study and appreciation of the art and civilisation of the East. Not that it would be right to think of his work in these fields, whether in the British Museum or beyond its walls, as isolated or detached from his vision as a poet: he was not, like so many Civil Servants, who have done notable work for literature and the arts, required to divide his interests. His life was a unity and his values and approach consistent and uncompromised: thus not only reflecting his personal integrity but flowing from a sense of man's wholeness and dignity akin to that of the Renaissance humanists. His sensitiveness to beauty and to its sincere and vital expression led to a response to these qualities in others which was both penetrating and extraordinarily comprehensive. As with his friend Charles Ricketts, the discrimination of quality, even in the work of schools of art remote in time and widely different in culture, was astonishing. This penetrating eye and the power of conveying its vision were the basis of all his interpretative work of the East to the West. He was peculiarly fitted to respond in sympathy to the great Chinese and Japanese landscape painters in whom he found the same intellectual penetration passing into a "lofty emotion" in the face of nature, which he had already found in the English landscape school of the nineteenth century.

Binyon was trained as a classical scholar in the old tradition of St. Paul's School and at Oxford, where he was a scholar of Trinity, and his work was always lucid



and well ordered, as witness his Museum catalogue, and the book on Japanese woodcuts (1923) in which he collaborated with Major O'Brien Sexton. Here he set out all the material gathered by Sexton from Japanese sources about artists and the popular stage, in the light of his experience in building up the Museum collection. To this especially he gave the most detailed attention during his twenty years in charge of the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings and he made it the most representative in Europe of the development of the school and especially of the major masters. He showed the cream of the collection to the public in a series of exhibitions during successive winters from 1921 to 1926.

Meanwhile his larger and harder task at the Museum was to build up a really representative collection on historical lines, in accordance with the tradition of the Museum, of Chinese and Japanese painting. The acquisition *en bloc* of the Arthur Morrison collection in 1913 went some way towards a fair representation of Japan, but it was considerably strengthened from many sources during the next twenty years particularly among the screen paintings and in the Ukiyoye school. In 1933 just before his retirement he arranged an exhibition to show the more important acquisitions made during his time, which was in itself representative of almost the whole range of oriental painting falling within the scope of the department. He was always mindful of the importance of gallery arrangement in setting the collections before the public and he gave much time and thought to the hanging of the periodic exhibitions in the gallery where mounts and backgrounds had always to be considered.

Far Eastern painting was naturally and necessarily the central point of the collection and the main subject of his book, "Painting in the Far East," which since its first publication in 1908 has, through its four successively enlarged editions, continued to hold the unique position as an introduction to the subject into which it was



welcomed at the time, when a reviewer wrote that it gave an "opportunity of receiving not only an astonishing revelation of the minds of the painters of these countries, but of studying the European mind from a new point of view." This book also contained short sections on Indian and Persian painting and these subjects were treated again by Binyon in later publications, especially the "Court Painters of the Great Moguls," in collaboration with Sir Thomas Arnold, in his publication of the resplendent miniature paintings in the sixteenth century imperial manuscript in the Museum collection of Nizami's "Khamsa" ("Studio," 1930), and in his lectures as C. E. Norton Professor at Harvard in 1934, afterwards published under the title, "The Spirit of Man in Asian Art."

By this time his range had increased so that, partly as a result of his stay in Japan in 1929 (with shorter visits on the same journey, to China and Angkor), he now treated of the whole range of eastern art. With his increasing sense of the magnitude and importance of the subject came an increasing realisation of the need for a more adequate display of Asiatic art in London. Not only, as he pointed out more than once, did the public not get anything like full value from the collections dispersed and only to be seen a small part at a time, but the impression thus made was too fragmentary and unco-ordinated to give that insight into the civilisation and thought of the east which he held could only be received through its arts, and which, he urgently pleaded, could alone bring that mutual knowledge and respect which is essential in a world where physical distances are so rapidly shrinking.

After his retirement in 1933 though he looked forward to the enjoyment of his flowers and to literary work, yet he gave much time to the interpretation of the arts of his own country to the peoples of Europe. Other fruits of his later years were his life of Akbar (1932) an estimate of the character of a great man with whom he found himself in some important points in great sympathy, and a



lecture before the British Academy on Chinese art and Buddhism (1936), where he set the Zen Buddhist landscape art of China beside the religious poetry of the Hebrews in some striking paragraphs. It is especially right to remember the mastery which he held of the lecturer's art, since this is a gift whose appreciation is necessarily limited to his own generation. No one in this country has done more to further an interest in the arts of the East and through them an understanding of the spiritual and cultural ideals of those great civilisations.\*

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\* Reprinted from Luzac's 'Oriental List' for April-June, 1943.



## KUNINDAS AND KATYURS

BY

J. C. POWELL-PRICE, M.A., F. R. HIST. S.

It always seemed to the writer that the Kunindas have never received the attention which is their due. In the first place they are generally placed nowadays in only part of the territory over which there is good reason to suppose that they in fact extended. Cunningham<sup>1</sup> many years ago stated that the Kunets whom he identified with the Kunindas 'must have been the original inhabitants of the lower slopes of the Himalayas from the banks of the Indus to the Brahmaputra'. There are references to them in the Purāṇas and Varāhamihira (587 A.D.) places them in this region and refers to a king of the Kunindas. But these are at best only vague approximations. Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> says Kulindrene was a province of Menander's kingdom and covered the upper valleys of the Beas, Sutlej Jumna and Ganges—in other words the lower slopes of the Himalayas.

It is the coin evidence, however, which is the most interesting. Cunningham says that most Kuninda coins are found between Ambala and Saharanpur; and the few references made by modern historians put the Kunindas accordingly between the Sutlej and the Beas in the plains. Actually the findspots are more scattered than this would suggest though of course too much reliance should not be put upon the provenance of coins, but where supported by other evidence the case is undoubtedly strengthened.

There are two series of Kuninda coins,<sup>3</sup> (1) an early first century B.C. series which copied the coins of the Bactrian Greeks in size, fabric and appearance, and (2) a later series which has many affinities with the Yaudheya

<sup>1</sup> ASR. XIV, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Ptol. VII, paras 43 4) seq.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum Cat., p. ciii.



coinage. The earlier series which has been found in several places in the Punjab and at Behat near Saharanpur with coins of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus, has also been found in Kumaon and Garhwal. A coin found in Almora now in the writer's possession belongs to this first series and was stated to have come from the Katyur valley. Mr. S. C. Kala of the Allahabad Municipal Museum reports that a hoard of about a thousand coins was unearthed at Sumari three miles north of Srinagar (Garhwal) several years ago and sent to Srinagar. Eight Kuninda coins of this hoard were seen by him in 1944. He was told that similar coins have been found at Deoprayag.

The writer has often been told of the existence of Kuninda coins in Garhwal and Kumaon in private hands but the owners are reluctant to show them. It is hoped that this paper may encourage publication of accounts of such coins and their provenance.

The coins are silver and show a sambhur and a female figure (Lakshmi?) on the obverse and a tree in a railing on the reverse together with the symbols which have sometimes been interpreted as meaning a mountain and a river. On the coin in the writer's possession the tree is very clear and is much more like a deodar than a pipal. The deodar does not grow in the plains and this taken with the mountain symbol points to a hill origin.

With this type is associated the name of a king Amoghabhūti. The legend is Prakrit in Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts.

The later series has no king's name but the figure of Siva or Kārttikeya (like the Yaudheya coins) and the legend Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanah. Apollodotus with whose coins the earlier Kuninda series have been found, is dated provisionally by Professor Tarn<sup>4</sup> about 175 B.C., on considerations drawn from Hellenistic history which are sound enough, and he suggests he was a son of Euthydemus and was killed resisting Eueratides'

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, *The Greeks in India and Bactria*, p. 165-6.



invasion of India in 167 B.C. This would make him a brother of Demetrius, the Euthydemid conqueror of the Punjab and invader of the Middle Kingdom and gives a possible terminus *a quo*. Amoghabhūti was not before 175 B.C., and probably much later. As the coins of this series are based on Greek types but with Indian Buddhist attributes, it follows that they were minted after the Greek domination had passed from the immediate vicinity. Menander and his successors seem to have held Mathura until 100 B.C. The rise of the Kuṇindas in the plains therefore was after that date. All this suggests that Ptolemy was correct in placing the Kuṇindas in and near the hills though like hill people to the present day they used the plains at the foot of the mountains as grazing grounds for their cattle in the cold weather. It is suggested that when the Greeks were pushed out of Mathura by the first wave of Saka invasion, the Kuṇindas extended their power down into the plains though they were unlikely to have settled there permanently or even established their capital there. It was the Yaudheyas who did this though there is no evidence that they ever, as Dr. Altekar has suggested in a recent number of the Journal,<sup>5</sup> swallowed up the Kuṇindas. The Yaudheyas occupied territory south of the Kuṇinda territory which was essentially a hill territory. When the Kushans occupied the plains the Kuṇindas retired again to their hills while the Yaudheyas went into eclipse. This accounts for the fact that only one king is recorded on the early series of the Kuṇinda coins for it is unlikely that Amoghabhūti is a dynastic name.<sup>6</sup> When the Sakas and the Kushans over-

<sup>5</sup> UPHJ. Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> In this connection the so-called Almora coins with the names Sivadatta, Sivapalita and Haridatta are interesting. They are different in style, fabric and size to all other coins and have been attributed to the second half of the 2nd cent. B. C. and the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. The inscriptions are Prakrit in large Brahmi characters. . . One which was in the possession of Capt. Martin R. E. with similar types to the Sivadatta coin has a legend which has been read as m. g. bh. t, sa



ran the plains the need for a coinage disappeared for there was no trade with the outside world through hostile territory.

The second series of Kuninda coins is definitely 2nd century A.D. and later. This would place them in the period when the Kushan power in India began to decline. They bear no name of a king but whether this is due, as has been suggested, to the fact that they were now a republic is by no means certain. Dr. Altekar, in the article referred to, has suggested that they became incorporated with the Yaudheyas who had also revived. He bases this on the supposition that the second series of Kuninda coins cease after about 250 A.D. and also because their name does not occur in Samudragupta's inscription on the Asoka pillar in the Allahabad Fort. But the coins do not necessarily cease about the middle of the third century, and the absence of their name from the Samudragupta inscription can be explained otherwise.

Among the names of frontier peoples or kingdoms in that inscription is to be found the name Kartripura. This name occurs exactly in the order where the name Kuninda might be expected. Of course an inscription in verse cannot always give the geographical position accurately as considerations of metre may not always allow. Yet this name fits in quite naturally. Fleet it is true identified Kartripura with Kartarpur in the Jullundur district but simply on the identity of name. V. A. Smith<sup>7</sup> suggested it stood for Almora, Kumaon and Garhwal and Oldham<sup>8</sup> went further and suggested that it was connected with the Katyur rajas of Kumaon. Final-

and this might suggest the Kuninda legend Amoghahutisa. But it is by no means certain that these coins came from Almora at all or if they did that they were found in Kumaon. The late Rev. E. S. Oakley who came to Almora in 1888 and was acquainted with all the old pandits of the place and their traditions running back for a long time never heard of such a find.

<sup>7</sup> JRAS., 1897, p. 881.

<sup>8</sup> JRAS., 1898, p. 98.



ly Nandalal Dey<sup>9</sup> says that it is Kartikeyapura now Baijnath on the borders of Kumaon and Garhwal.

✓ Inscriptions at Baijnath confirm this identity of Kārtikeyapura with Baijnath.<sup>10</sup>

From this it may be deduced that the Kuṇindas are mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription not by name but by the name of their capital of Kārtikeyapura, afterwards the name given to the capital of the Katyur dynasty of Kumaon. This then gives some sort of connection between the Kuṇindas and the Katyurs. It also confirms the thesis that the Kuṇindas were a hill people. a suggestion reinforced by the references in Ptolemy and Varāhamihira and supported by the distribution of their coins, whose occurrence in Garhwal and Kumaon has not before been drawn attention to, and finally by the coins themselves with their hill attributes the mountain symbol, the deodar and the sambhur. That the Katyurs were the successors of the Kuṇindas is, of course, much more debatable. The late Pt. Tara Datt Gairola in a recent article in this Journal<sup>11</sup> states that the Katyurs came from Garhwal to Baijnath in the 13th century. This, however, is a late tradition. There is a respectable body of evidence that they held the Katyur valley in Kumaon much earlier. Atkinson in his invaluable Gazetteer of the N. W. Province refers to this when he says, 'The Katyurs were according to local tradition the ruling family in Kumaon both before and after the great religious cataclysm of the eighth century.'<sup>12</sup> But there is more evidence than just tradition. The evidence for a kingdom in the Katyur valley with a continuous history is as good as any these early kingdoms can boast of. It consists of Huien Tsang's account of the

<sup>9</sup> Geographical Dict., 1899, p. 39. The writer had come to the same conclusion before Sir Richard Burn directed his attention to those three references.

<sup>10</sup> See the article by Nityanand Misra in UPHJ, Vol. VI, 1935, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> UPHJ., Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Gazetteer of the N. P. Province Kumaon, p. 467.



kingdom of Brahmapura in 643. Before this Varāhamihira also mentions Brahmapura. Next come the Taleswara plates which, though forgeries, are early forgeries, not later than the 8th century and possibly as early as the 6th, issued from Brahmapura and containing the name Kārtikeyapura. They are followed by the Pandukesar plates issued from Kārtikeyapura itself in the latter half of the 9th century containing the names of kings who are also mentioned in the stone inscription from Bagesar.

Thus the name Kartikayapura of the Samudragupta inscription is associated with a later kingdom in the Katyur valley, which in its later history again took the name of Kartikeyapura and Kartikeyapura is Baijnath which is known to have been the site of the capital of the Katyur dynasty.

Let us examine the evidence more in detail. First the reference to Brahmapura in Huien Tsang's account.<sup>13</sup>

Huien Tsang in 643 journeyed from Matipura which is identified with Madawar in the Bijnor district of the United Provinces, to Po-lo-ki-mo-pou-lo or Brahmapura which he states was fifty miles north<sup>R</sup> from Madawar. It was in the midst of the mountains and 'to the north is the kingdom of Suvarṇagotra where gold is found.' This was an Amazonian kingdom and was called 'the kingdom of the Queens.' This is, of course, the usual traveller's tale referred to before by Herodotus<sup>14</sup> who mentions the city of Kaspatyarus in the extreme north whence 'men are sent forth who go to produce gold.' The gold is the legendary 'ant' gold which is mentioned in the Mahabharata where the Khasias bring 'paipilika' or ant gold to Yudhisthira. Thus we have all the machinery of the usual traveller's tale.<sup>15</sup> The kingdom

<sup>13</sup> Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 198.

<sup>14</sup> Herodotus, III, 102.

<sup>15</sup> That the legend persisted is seen from Jahangir's reference in his Memoirs to Lakhshmi Chand of Kumaon's visit to him in 1612, 'It is said there is a gold mine in his country.'



of the Amazons is also part of this currency and here perhaps arose from the practice of polyandry among some of the hill peoples. Huien Tsang goes on to say that east of Brahmapura lies the country of the Fan or Tibet. The whole thing reads like a secondhand report and it is more than possible that Huien Tsang never visited the place himself but based his story on what he had heard.

But there was a Brahmapura and the Taleswara copper plates are dated from Brahmapura. Though forgeries they must be geographically correct or their value would be worthless for the purpose for which they were fabricated, i.e., a claim to land. There has been much speculation as to where Brahmapura actually was. Fifty miles north from Madawar as Huien Tsang gives it will not bring the traveller to any valley which answers his description. Cunningham identifies it with Lakhnapur near Ganai on the border between the present Garhwal and Kumaon and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Dwarahat because that is fifty miles in a direct line north from, not Madawar, but Kotdwara at the foot of the hills. There are some scattered remains there. Atkinson places it at Barahat in Garhwal. But if liberties are to be taken with Huien Tsang's distances—and bearing in mind the possibility that he never went there himself—the Katyur valley which has a tradition of many centuries of occupation is a much more likely site for Brahmapura. That the valley was the centre of a kingdom for many centuries is quite clear. Tradition states that the Katyurs came here from Joshimath in Garhwal. Baijnath was Kartikeyapura as is clear from inscriptions of the later Chand dynasty of Kumaon still in situ. The temple at Baijnath called Bamnai (Brahmani) may explain the name though the present one dates from the 12-13 century. The Taleswara grants were issued from Brahmapura. One mentions the actual name Kartikeyapura for a village in the vicinity.

*Katyur Kingdom*



This establishes the fact that Brahmapura and Kartikeyapura were both in the Katyur valley near the Gomati river which flows through it before joining the Sarju at Bagesar. It is true the grants are forgeries but forgeries of this kind to be of any value must be correct in their geography. It is probable that what they say is true and that they are not a conscious forgery but an attempt to restore the original genuine grants which were destroyed by fire in the past. They are an effort to produce some evidence of a right to property. The palaeographical evidence puts the plates from the 6th to the 8th century A.D. The seals are earlier and are casts from the originals of Gupta times.<sup>16</sup>

What these copper plates prove is the existence of a kingdom with a capital city of Brahmapura in the Katyur valley between the 6th and 8th centuries. They contain the name Kartikeyapura which is the name mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription as the capital of a hill people occupying the position in which one would expect the name of the Kuṇindas. The name Brahmapura is mentioned by Varāhamihira who died in 587 and in 643 Huien Tsang places it in this vicinity.

Let us now take the Pandukesar plates.<sup>17</sup> These were apparently issued about the second half of the 9th century. They were dated from Kartikeyapura and contain the names of kings who are also found in a later inscription in stone which used to be in a temple at Bagesar.<sup>18</sup> These kings reigned from Kartikeyapura and those in the Bagesar stone inscription are members of the same dynasty and follow those recodred in the Pandukesar plates.

The chain of evidence seems fairly complete. First come the references to the Kuṇindas as living on the

<sup>16</sup> Ep. Ind., XIII.

<sup>17</sup> Atkinsons Gazetteer. N. W. Province, p. 473.

<sup>18</sup> Atkinson. l. c. p. 469 and JASB, VII, 1056.

This inscription was removed to Almora in 1870 but all trace of it is lost.



lower slopes of the Himalayas; then their coins with definite hill symbolism found both in Garhwal and Kumaon as well as further west in the plains, showing that the Kuninda territories extended well to the east in the hills; then the name Kartripura in the Samudragupta inscription which is Kartikeyapura, a name found in the Katyur valley in Kumaon near the borders of Garhwal and which later was the name of the capital of a kingdom which existed in this vicinity—almost certainly the revival of an older name—as well as the fact that Kartikeya appears on the later series of Kuninda coins. The inference to be made is that the Kunindas had one of their centres at any rate in the hills. The Katyur valley was the centre of a kingdom, successors of the Kuninda power if not Kunindas, for a long period of time and continuously either under the name Kartikeyapura or Brahmapura.

Local legend tells of the settlement of the Katyur dynasty in the valley after Sankaracharya had driven out Buddhism from the hills. They are stated to have come from Joshimath across the border in Garhwal and the first member of the dynasty is said to have built Kartikeyapura from the stones of an ancient city of Karbirpur near Baijnath. The whole legend is a confused account of an earlier settlement. A branch from Joshimath possibly returned in the 12th—13th century to the old site. The references to Sankaracharya refer to this earlier time for he was not later than 800 A.D.

It is not suggested that the dynasty of Kartikeyapura referred to in the Pandukesar plates of the 9th century and the Bagesar stone inscription was necessarily the same dynasty as those kings whose capital was Brahmapura in the same Katyur valley, or that these were anything more than successors of the Kunindas. All that is claimed is that there was a continuous centre of power in this valley first with its capital Kartikeyapura associated with the Kunindas, then with a capital Brahmapura,



either the same place under a different name or a new settlement. There are many scattered remains in the valley which have never been excavated and the sites changed with the passage of time. It was again restored to the old name Kartikeyapura under the same or a new dynasty. The change from Brahmapura to the old name Kartikeyapura might mark a change from a Buddhist dynasty to a dynasty professing faith in the Hindu revival and supporting Sankaracharya, though from Huien Tsang's account the Buddhist influence was waning in his time.

Another centre of the Katyur power was Dwarahat where there are several temples of the 11th to 13th centuries-older in fact than most of the extant remains at Bajinath. A properly organised investigation of these two sites would certainly be worth while and might throw much light on the history of this little known kingdom.

The Katyur dynasty fell before the Chands who gradually established themselves in control of the whole of Kumaon. It was a gradual process, and Katyurs were still reigning in the Katyur valley until the middle of the 16th century when it was conquered by Rudra Chand. Almora itself did not become the capital of the Chand dynasty until 1560 in the time of Kalyan Chand II. The break up of the Katyur power before the Chands was a slow and long drawn out process. The first Chand, Som Chand, is supposed to have come to Kumaon from the plains at the end of the 10th century but it was probably later when the Muslim invasions led to considerable movement of Rajput tribes from the present United Provinces, some to Rajputana and others to the hills. But that is another story which may be told some day.



# GUPTA TEMPLE AT DEOGARH

## (DISTRICT JHANSI)

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The Gupta Period has been called the golden age of ancient India. It has left a permanent impress on the political, cultural, scientific, religious, art and building activities of India and brought about a powerful revival of Hinduism which had begun to assert itself immediately after the palmy days of Buddhism during the reign of the great Mauryan Emperor Aśoka. The effect of this on the history of culture survived by about a century and a half the political supremacy of the Guptas which did not last beyond the 5th century A.D. In painting, as in sculpture, the art of this period is characterised by a balance and judicious restraint in composition, perfection of technique and boldness of execution which have scarcely been excelled. The art treasures of Ajanṭa and Bāgh, Badāmī and Sittānavāsal, etc., and sculptures—which have been found widely distributed over the whole of India and are rightly prized for their idealised expression—have elicited their due meed of praise from connoisseurs. Architecturally also, this period marks the beginning of the two styles of temple architecture in India, viz., the “Nāgara” and the “Drāviḍa” which were to develop into the great Indo-Āryan *Śikhara*s of the north and *Vimāna*s of the south. These two styles are found side by side in the Durgā and Lādkhān temples at Aiholi in the south, while the *Śikhara* of the Deogarh and Bhītargāon temples is found to occur with the flat roof of the Sāñchī, Tigawā, Nachnā Kuṭhārā and other temples in Northern India. Gradually, during the mediaeval period, these two styles became distinctive of the north and south. Of the early *śikhara* type the only



lithic example extant in Northern India is the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh which may be dated to the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Though the upper part of its *Śikhara* has long disappeared, I was fortunate in discerning recently over the outer vertical band of its elaborate door-frame the replicas which I take to represent the profile of this or another similar contemporary shrine. This temple appears to have been a straight-edged pyramid built in receding tiers, the large projection in the centre of each side, which accommodates a broad but deeply recessed niche enclosed by pilasters, being carried up the spire on which the principal decorative element is the chaitya-window motif. The profile of the *Śikhara* on the door jamb also shows *āmalakas* at the corners and the top. Here, then, is an already well-defined type of *Śikhara* of the Gupta Period, which with time grew taller, pyramidal, curvilinear, more perfected and elaborate. For reasons, which I need not detail here, I do not agree with Cunningham that because a few pillars were found on the basement there was originally a pillared portico on each of the four sides over the platform or with R. D. Banerji that the whole platform was covered over with a flat roof. The sanctum, as remarked by Cunningham, occupied the centre of the nine squares into which the terrace over the basement was divided. Excavation of the plinth carried out by Daya Ram Sahni revealed at each corner the existence of a small square shrine so that together with the central cella the Daśāvatāra temple constitutes the earliest example in northern India of the *Pañcharatna* type. The basement [जगती] was decorated by at least two series of sculptured panels of which the smaller one was superposed over the larger one, two panels of the latter being still *in situ*. To give a cursory idea of this important and beautiful temple I shall now give a very brief outline of it.

The plinth, to which access is gained by a flight of steps rising from the centre of each side, measures 55 ft.



6 inches square and has at each corner a miniature shrine, 11 ft. square, of which only the traces are now left. On every side the resulting two sections of the plinth were relieved in the middle by a projection which accommodated longer panels carved at the side facets also by breaking through the third and fourth moulded courses. The plinth is very much ruined though obviously it must have risen to the level of the doorstep of the shrine which is about nine feet above the level of the moonstones at the boom of the flights of steps. Over this, the parapet would have risen to another two feet. The cella (*garbhagriha*) is a plain square (8' 6"  $\times$  18' 6") facing west relieved by an exquisitely carved doorway on the east and a broad and deep panelled niche enclosed by projecting pilasters in the centre of each side. The entablature above the level of the doorway and niches shows a simple frieze of arched window pattern over which projected all-round on cantilever beams, four on each side, a deep *chhajjā* which effectively shaded the reliefs on the doorway and panels on the remaining sides without causing any obstruction to the view.

The probable form the *Śikhara* took has already been explained above.

The door-frame (11' 2"  $\times$  10' 9") consists of four facets running all round, each facet showing at the bottom a standing figure. Beginning with the innermost facet the first one is a haloed male figure followed on each side by two female figures. At the outer ends of the frame is a standing pot-bellied dwarf (*Kīchaka*) upholding with both hands a squat pot of typical Gupta design from which emerges a graceful band covered with foliage and flowers. At the level of the lintel this band sweeps back 10" in order to accommodate the figures of Gaṅgā on the proper right and Yamunā on the left, each canopied by an umbrella and standing on their respective vehicles. This position for the river goddesses at the sides of the lintel is also found in other early Gupta